

## Socialist Push Great Campaign on Many Fronts

### Labor Scores Election Victories in Denmark and Canada

## People Display Support Of Stauning Regime As Nazi Campaign Fails

**Socialists Poll 760,000 Votes  
And Gain Six Seats—  
Clear Socialist Majority  
In Sight—Communist  
Vote Is 27,000.**

### Fascist Front Routed

**Cooperative Commonwealth  
Federation Becomes Ma-  
jor Factor in Dominion  
Politics—Stalinite Cam-  
paign Nets Only 26,000  
Votes.**

A VICTORY for Socialism, for labor and for democracy, and a stunning setback for fascism, of an importance far out of proportion to the size of the country, were registered in Tuesday's general elections in Denmark.

The Socialist ministry, headed by Premier Thorvald Stauning, came back for the third successive time stronger than ever, with heavy increases in voting strength in the Folketing, the lower house of the Riksdag, while the fascist party, heavily subsidized by Nazi Germany, totalled under 15,000 votes.

Incomplete returns at the moment of going to press indicate that the Socialists have gained six additional seats, giving them 68 in a House of 149 members, seven short of an absolute majority. Their Radical party allies, who held 14 seats in the old House, appear to have lost no seats; thus, it appears that the Stauning government will have 82 votes back of it; there are also two Communists.

The Socialists gained 100,000 votes, polling a total of 760,000 in a nation with a total population half that of New York City.

The Liberals, the main part of the Opposition in the last House, appear to have lost half of their 39 seats, and the Conservatives, who held 27, appear to have made some gains. The Communists increased their vote in the entire country from 17,000 to 27,000, the Farmers, who led the March on Copenhagen, gained 50,000 votes and elected four members, the National "Socialists"—the Nazis—polled only 15,000 votes, and the German Party in South Jutland increased from 9,800 to 12,800.

Stauning had called the elections because of pressure by the peasants, who had staged a March on Copenhagen last summer to demand a devaluation of the krone. Boldly appealing to the people the Socialists staked everything upon their record, and the ideals of the Socialist movement. A defeat, or even a setback at this time would have strengthened the forces of reaction everywhere, giving them the plausible talking point that one of the few Socialist governments in the world had been unable to maintain itself in power.

The magnificent Socialist victory, the humiliating defeat of the fascists and the strengthening of the base upon which the Stauning government rests is the answer of democratic Socialism to the assaults being made upon the workers and upon Democracy everywhere.

Stauning was first swept into power in 1924, forming an all-Socialist ministry supported by the Radicals. Defeated in 1926, the Socialists came back in 1929. In 1932 Stauning again faced the vot-

(Continued on Page Three)

### SOCIALIST VICTOR



Thorvald Stauning  
Socialist Premier of Denmark, who  
led his party to a striking victory  
in Tuesday's elections.

## Canada Casts 620,000 Votes For Laborites

By Victor Riesel

OVER 620,000 votes were polled in last week's general election by the Canadian Socialists, organized nationally with the farmers and organized workers in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. In British Columbia the C.C.F. candidate Angus MacInnis rolled up the biggest majority accorded any nominee in the province. Despite the complete Liberal success elsewhere they ran second to the Socialists in that constituency.

The C.C.F. vote in that important province was 89,547 to the Liberals' 85,012. The Laborites topped the Conservatives by 24,000 votes. Editorial comment throughout the province recognized the C.C.F. as the most powerful political group there.

The total Communist vote in the Dominion, after a well-financed campaign, was 26,200.

The spotlight election was in Vancouver where Arnold Webster, Socialist, beat Mayor McGeer, Liberal, by 121 votes. Totals were recounted four times. Less than a year ago Mr. McGeer was elected mayor by a majority of 34,000.

"We are only at the beginning of our fight. Next year will see a well organized, cohesive Socialist Party," J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., leader of the C.C.F., told Canadian people. He was re-elected from Winnipeg, as was his running mate, A. A. Heaps, whose opponent, Tim Buck, Communist leader, entered the lists solely to split the radical vote. Had the latter succeeded in causing Heaps' defeat, a Conservative would have taken office.

A curious phase of Canadian elections is the posting of \$200 entry bonds by the candidates. This is forfeited unless a minimum vote is cast for the nominee. Cooperative Commonwealth Federation men lost \$15,400 on this clause in last week's general election.

The C.C.F. group in parliament numbers nine, including one United Farmer representative.

## American Labor Seeks To Solve Its Problems

### Building Trades Challenge PWA Policies in N. Y.

**Workers in Albany De-  
nounce "Security" Wage  
Offered by Federal Gov-  
ernment—Meany at the  
Conference.**

ALBANY, N. Y.—Adopting a resolution declaring that if Administrator Herzog "does not agree to our demands, we will go out and call a strike on every WPA project in the state," delegates of building trades unions throughout the state, meeting here, challenged the labor policy of the WPA administration last Sunday. The organized workers demanded the abolition of the "security wage" program of the WPA, an increase of 10% in wages, and a reduction of working hours from 140 to 120 a month.

George Meany, president of the State Federation of Labor, told the delegates to carry the issue to officials at Washington if the prevailing wage rate demands were not granted by the WPA.

"It is their plan and not ours," Meany said. "They have the money and are ready to spend it. If I had my way, there would not be any such thing as WPA or work relief. The federal money would be spent directly for public improvements by private contract."

Herzog told the delegates that he had no authority to grant pre-

(Continued on Page Seven)

By Marx Lewis

IT has become a tradition after American Federation of Labor conventions to attempt an evaluation of trends and tendencies there. The difficulty with all such attempts is that there is no sure-fire criterion by which the progressivism or conservatism can be measured.

The most important issue before the convention was industrial unionism, so-called, versus craft unionism, so-called. I say so-called, because the issue was not nearly as simple as that. At no time was there any attempt to consider scrapping the craft form of organization wherever it now exists, or of venturing upon industrial unionism as a panacea for all the weaknesses of the labor movement. That there were weaknesses, and possibly ills, was generally agreed. But wherever the craft unions had succeeded in gaining a foothold there they were to remain intact. It was only in a few basic industries, where the craft unions have so far been unable to make any headway, that were involved in the issue at all. The craft unionists and the industrial unionists agreed that for the present they should organize along industrial lines. It was on the question of what will ultimately be done with the crafts-men who became members of the industrial union that real antagonisms were provoked and a real cleavage developed.

Assuming that behind the immediate issue of the few basic industries there is a struggle for control, is it necessary to assume, also, that the fight in any way will affect the progressivism or the conservatism of the Federation in the

(Continued on Page Three)

## Battle on Relief, Power, Utilities Stirs Party Organization in N. Y.; Bridgeport and Reading Confident

### McLevy Victory Indicated by Big Straw Vote

**Bridgeport Stirred by Social-  
ist Battle for Reelection  
of Administration—The  
Masses Solidly Behind  
Mayor.**

By Abraham Knepler  
Special to The New Leader

BRIDGEPORT.—Socialist Mayor Jasper McLevy is far in the lead in a mayoralty straw poll being conducted by a local daily hostile to the Socialist administration, polling about 60 per cent of the votes, an indication that the Socialists may receive an even greater vote this year than they did in the memorable Socialist city sweep in 1933, when they garnered 49 per cent of the total vote.

By Tuesday, 7,611 votes had been cast, McLevy receiving 4,527, Wilcox Republican, 1,704 votes, and Wieler, Democrat, 1,380. McLevy was in the lead in all but one of the 16 wards. (At present the Socialists have eleven out of the 16 Aldermen.) In some wards McLevy polled five times as many votes as

(Continued on Page Two)

### Final Drive For Victory In Reading

Special to The New Leader.

PITTSBURGH.—Calling attention to the fact that insufficient funds might jeopardize the Socialist municipal victory in Reading, the State Executive Committee of Pennsylvania has again issued a call to party branches, labor and fraternal organizations, individual members and sympathizers for immediate financial aid.

The appeal points out that the failure of Republicans and Democrats to fuse, gives certainty to the hope of Socialist victory in Reading and the huge majority expected in Reading is seen as a basis for county victory, which will mean the election of a Socialist Judge and several county officials. "Berks County," the statement indicates, "comprises a Congressional District. Victory in Reading, victory in Berks County, will bring us close to electing a Socialist Congressman in 1936. It is necessary within the next two weeks to intensify the campaign activities throughout the county, to use the radio, the most effective means of reaching the rural population, more extensively."

"Help re-awaken enthusiasm and service to the Socialist Party through victory in Reading and Berks County. Provide an opportunity to demonstrate to the workers the advantages of Socialist municipal administration. Send your contributions immediately to the Reading Socialist Campaign Fund, Dr. Wm. J. Van Essen, Treasurer, 122 9th Street, Pittsburgh."

### NEWARK LABOR PARTY CAMPAIGN BOOMS

Special to The New Leader

NEWARK, N. J.—In addition to many meetings of outside groups addressed by the Labor Party candidates, the cooperating Socialist campaign committee, with Milo Jones as chairman, are also arranging important events. On Thursday evening, Oct. 30, in the Hawthorne Ave. School, Hawthorne Ave. and Clinton Place, under the auspices of the So. Side Branch, S. P. Alfred Bingham, editor of Common Sense, will be the principal speaker, with Dr. Louis Reiss as chairman. Rubye Smith, Henry Green, Harry Wendrick and Geo. H. Goebel will also speak.

On Friday, Nov. 1, at 190 Belmont Ave., under the auspices of Branch 3, there will be a large meeting with prominent speakers. The night following, at 1085 Broad St., with James Oneal as guest speaker, will be a meeting at which moving pictures of Eugene V. Debs will be shown.

The dinner last Sunday night was a complete success, with 400 present and some 100 late comers unable to secure seats, and the speeches of Samuel Beardsley, Congressman Thos. R. Amle and Judge Jacob Panken all making deep impressions. An important fact for New Leader readers to call attention of their Essex County friends to is to vote for every name in the last column, whether labeled Labor or Socialist.

**Energetic Drive Is Waged  
Here on Vital Issues—  
Meetings and Distribution  
of Literature Throughout  
City Breaks Records.**

### McLevy Forges Ahead

**Stump's Triumph in Penn-  
sylvania Considered Cer-  
tain, with Entire City and  
County Ticket Advancing  
To Success.**

WITH more hall meetings than have been held by the Socialist Party in many years, with more speakers out, with more literature distributed and with larger and more attentive crowds at the many street meetings in every part of the city than in any so-called "off-year," the New York Socialists are swinging into the home stretch of a municipal campaign that promises to break all records.

Party officials declare with positive assurance that the campaign far exceeds in magnitude and in expected results the campaign of 1934 that resulted in the largest vote—with one exception—ever cast for governor in New York state.

Next week The New Leader will publish a campaign special in an edition of at least 100,000 copies, to be distributed in every part of the city. There will be stirring campaign articles, cartoons and pictures, and the paper will be a memorable one.

Three attractive one-cent pamphlets have been printed and are selling like hot cakes at all meetings. One is by August Claessens, two by Harry W. Laidler. In addition, the first of a series of leaflets has appeared and more are promised. Foreign language leaflets have also appeared, and all five are being circulated by the hundreds of thousands.

An important feature of the campaign is the battle being waged by a number of the party spokesmen, notably Charles Solomon, for a municipal power plant. Despite the decisions of New York's highest courts that the issue cannot be submitted to the voters this year Solomon has taken the lead in the fight for municipal ownership and in many meetings, where he has appeared with Mayor LaGuardia and other public officials, he has taken the center of the stage urging not merely the "yardstick" power plant proposed by the city but the full Socialist municipal program. Those meetings brought the Socialist message in halls and over the radio to tens and hundreds of thousands who never heard of it before.

At the same time Harry W. Laidler has been waging a battle for a decent, a Socialist program of relief that has won wide support in all sections of the community. His public statements, temperate in tone and uncompromising in substance, have been widely printed in the city's press.

The campaign, which is rapidly reaching its climax, will conclude with a series of giant indoor meetings, some of which are listed in another column of this paper.

The schedule of street meetings, however, is omitted because there are so many of them that there would be no room even to list them.

(Continued on Page Two)

## Hall Meetings in New York Campaign

The following meetings for the home-stretch of the New York campaign are announced by the Socialist Party. They are all scheduled for 8.30 p. m. unless otherwise indicated.

### Friday, October 25

2 p. m.—Hotel Astor, Symposium. Fall Convention, New York Federation of Women's Clubs.

Charles Solomon.

Ambassador Hall, Third Avenue and Claremont Parkway, Bronx.

Judge Jacob Panken, William Karlin, Samuel Orr, Matthew M. Levy, Solomon Perrin, Meyer Levenstein, August Claessens.

Ward Manor, Westchester and Boynton Aves., Bronx.—Joseph Schlossberg, Abr. Miller, Frank Crosswaith, Emil Schlesinger, William Karlin, Abram Herskowitz, Harry Kavesch.

Finnish Socialist Hall, 2056 Fifth Ave.—August Claessens and Finnish speakers.

Casa De Amour, West 31st St. and Mermaid Ave., Coney Island.—Charles Solomon, Alexander Kahn, Nathan Chanin, Julia Primoff, Jacob Axelrad.

Flushing Court House, Flushing, L. I.—James Oneal, Victor Levin, Leonard Lazarus, Robert Keopplius, Samuel De Witt.

Saturday, October 26

8:15 p. m.—Radio Broadcast.—WNEW.—Charles Solomon.

Socialist Club Rooms, 215 Clove Road, Port Richmond, S. I.—Louis P. Goldberg, Walter Dearing, Monitor Rider.

10 p. m.—Jewish Verband Branch Banquet, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 210 Sackman St., Brooklyn.—Nathan Chanin, August Claessens.

Sunday, October 27

Independent Order, Brith Abraham, 939 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn.—Charles Solomon.

Hillside Homes, Social Hall, Bos-

ton Road and Seymour Ave., Bronx.—William Karlin.

Madison House, 226 Madison St. Irwin Nussbaum.

Rockaway, W. C. Club Rooms, 8112 Rockaway Beach Boulevard, Hammels, L. I.—Louis P. Goldberg, Samuel A. De Witt, Leonard Lazarus, Victor Levin.

Holy Trinity Church, 157 Montague St., Brooklyn.—Frederick Shulman.

East Side Forum, 204 East Broadway.—Henry Fruchter.

Tuesday, October 27

100 West 72nd St.—Charles Solomon, William Karlin, Hy. Fruchter, Siegfried Lipschitz, Bruno Rantane, Murray Baron.

Hennington Hall, East Second St. and Ave. B.—Judge Jacob Panken, William M. Feigenbaum, William Karlin, Irwin Nussbaum, August Claessens, Molly Weingert, A. N. Weinberg.

Grand Street Settlement House, 311 East Broadway.—Irwin Nussbaum.

Wednesday, October 30

Pelham Palace, Lydig and White Plains Aves., Bronx.—Judge Jacob Panken, Samuel Orr, William Karlin, Matthew M. Levy, Abram Herskowitz, Alfred Breslaw.

Bohemian Hall, 29-19—24th Ave., Astoria, L. I.—Louis P. Goldberg, James Oneal, Leonard Lazarus, Emerich Steinberger.

Erasmus Hall High School, Flatbush and Church Aves., Brooklyn.—Auspices, Civic Associations.—Charles Solomon.

Thursday, October 31

Wholesale Dry Goods Employees' Union, 66 Allen St., Manhattan.—Symposium.—Irwin Nussbaum.

### Friday, November 1

De Witt Clinton High School, Mosholu Parkway and Sedgwick Ave., Bronx.—Judge Jacob Panken, B. C. Vlaeck, William Karlin, Samuel Orr, Matthew M. Levy, Esther Friedman, George Steinhardt, Isidore Polstein.

Thomas Jefferson High School, Pennsylvania and Dumont Aves., Brooklyn.—Charles Solomon, Harry W. Laidler, William M. Feigenbaum, Theodore Shapiro, Samuel Block, Joseph Morgenstein.

P. S. 19, South Third and Keap Sts., Brooklyn.—Charles Solomon, Louis P. Goldberg, Jacob Axelrad, Algernon Lee, Harry Schachner.

P. S. 128, 84th St. and 21st Ave., Brooklyn.—Louis Waldman, Frederick Shulman, Louis Hendin, Alexander Kahn, Julia Primoff.

P. S. 225, Ocean View Ave. and Brighton 12th St., Brighton Beach, Brooklyn.—Louis Waldman, James Oneal, William M. Feigenbaum, Frederick Shulman, Morris Waldman, Louis Epstein.

Club Intempo, 9901 97th Street, Ozone Park, L. I.—Leon. Lazarus.

Nonpareil Club, 1926 Prospect Place, Brooklyn.—Harry Lopatin, Irving Ostrowsky.

10 p. m.—Poale Zion, 1703 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn.—Louis P. Goldberg.

Sunday, November 3

8 p. m.—Brooklyn Academy of Music, Flatbush Ave. and Lafayette St.—Charles Solomon, Louis Waldman, B. C. Vlaeck, Judge Jacob Panken, James Oneal, Frank Crosswaith, Louis P. Goldberg.

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# Cities Stirred by Vigorous Socialist Campaign

## All Straws Point to Triumphant Victory of Bridgeport Socialists

(Continued from Page One)

either of his opponents. The rallies held by the Socialists thus far indicate that the Socialists have a good chance of improving on the 1933 vote. Outdoor and indoor rallies are attracting more people than ever before.

While a campaign of vilification and deliberate distortion of truth is being waged against the Socialists, the average man and woman appears satisfied with the accomplishments of the Socialists in their two short years in office. An attempt has been made to misrepresent the relief workers as dissatisfied with the Socialist regime, although the Bridgeport relief standards are the highest in the state and Bridgeport is the only city in Connecticut which provides municipal work relief in addition to direct relief.

During the past several months a four-page sheet in tabloid form has been anonymously published, at first semi-monthly, and now weekly, purporting to be an organ representing the views and sentiments of the FERA and city relief workers. The entire paper is devoted to attacking McLevy and the Socialist administration. The paper, printed in a non-union shop, praised the Democrats constantly until the mayoralty candidates of the two old parties were named, and then, at the same time that an undercover fusion of the old parties became apparent, the tabloid

switched its support to the Republican. It claims to be sponsored by relief workers, yet admits that it is constantly "going in the hole," that it isn't making enough from advertising to cover its expenses. How persons working on relief can afford to pay for the operating deficit of a paper which is now a weekly, is not explained.

An interesting occurrence during the visit of Mayor McLevy to some relief projects to check up on their progress is substantiation of the fact that not only are relief workers not the actual backers of the anti-McLevy paper, but that they are, on the whole, enthusiastically backing up the Socialist administration. As one local paper records the incident:

"A group of workmen accosted the Mayor and asked who was responsible for the publication of 'The Advocate,' bi-weekly anonymous publication which has devoted itself to vitriolic attacks at the Socialist administration.

"I don't know," the Mayor said. "But it says on the banner that it's for DPW and FERA workers and implies they support it," Mayor McLevy added, hiding a grin. Indignant, the relief workers swarmed in protest and disclaimed any connections with the publication." Judging from the sentiment on relief projects, the anonymous sheet has only served to convince more relief workers that they ought to vote Socialist.

## Henderson's Death Loss to All Workers



THE British workers and the world Socialist and labor movement suffered a grievous loss when Arthur Henderson, one of the elder statesmen of world Socialism died at 72 after a lingering illness. Although the sorrow of the British workers at the passing of their loved "Uncle Arthur" is great his passing was not unexpected. He had been seriously ill for several months, and in failing health for a number of years.

Arthur Henderson, workingman and idealist, trade unionist, Socialist and world statesman, takes his place in the ranks of the Socialist immortals with August Bebel, Keir Hardie, Pablo Iglesias, Eugene V. Debs and their fellows, men who were born in the working class, who had pride in their class, who never aspired to rise above their class, and who became great world figures because of their loyalty and devotion to their class interests.

Henderson most closely resembled Hardie of all his fellow British laborites, influential not so much for brilliant personal qualities—

## New York Socialists Mourn Henderson

A Cable to London  
"New York Socialists mourn with you the loss of our leader, Arthur Henderson. In his death the Socialist and Labor movement of the world loses one of its staunchest supporters. — Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary."

and he, like Hardie, was a man of striking ability—but rather for his rugged integrity and strength. He was a workingman, he lived and died a workingman and his life's work was his devotion to the interests of his people.

Arthur Henderson was in many ways a typical British trade unionist. Like Hardie, he did not begin as a Socialist, coming to Socialism by the inexorable logic of events. He was a Scotman, Glasgow born, who lived most of his life in the dour North Country of England. At ten he was at work as a "half-timer"; early in his teens he was a full-time worker. Plodding, intelligent, trusted and liked, he soon became a leader among his fellows in his trade of iron molding, and he was soon a trade union official.

At first a Liberal, he came into the political labor movement in 1903 even before the Labor Party was known by that name, when he was elected to Parliament from Barnard Castle. His intelligence, his loyalty and his solid ability brought him forward, and within a few years he was leader of the Labor Party in the House of Commons.

He became president of the Labor and Socialist International, reorganized in Hamburg in 1923; as secretary of the Labor Party he became one of the great party organizers of his time, and as "Uncle Arthur" he was one of the trusted and loved men of the movement.

In 1924 he was Home Secretary; in 1929 he was Foreign Secretary, one of the really great foreign secretaries in recent British history. When the break with MacDonald came, he stood squarely and loyally with his party, his comrades and his class, and he topped off a noble life with his work for world peace.

He won the Nobel Peace Prize, but his real monument is the sturdy integrity, the sober devotion, the practical idealism of the British labor movement that in many respects so closely resembles "Uncle Arthur" himself.

## RAND SCHOOL HIGH SCHOOL OPENS



Another milestone in the progress of Socialist education has been reached in the establishment of the High School Division of the Rand School. This new institution is designed to furnish a systematic course of instruction to the growing number of sturdy youngsters entering our movement through the various youth sections, and eager

for knowledge. The school will be conducted on Sundays. The morning will be divided into three periods, two of which will be devoted to the formal study of curricular material and the third will consist of an address to the student body by a prominent Socialist, labor leader, or educator.

Picture shows Charles Solomon, addressing the opening session. There will be four grades each of which corresponds to a public high school year, and the curriculum is arranged to conform to the type of material studied by the pupil in his high school course. The High School is under the direction of Fred Shulman.

## GLANTZ HEADS TICKET IN PATERSON FIGHT

Special to The New Leader  
PATERSON, N. J.—Friday evening, Oct. 25, the four branches of the Socialist Party of Passaic County will hold a public meeting to introduce their candidates and to explain why Socialism is the only way out of the present crisis as well as the only real way to eliminate the cause of war and fascism.

The meeting will be held at Oakley Hall, 211 Market St. The Socialists have a full ticket, headed by William Glantz, Socialist veteran of many years' service, as candidate for Mayor, and including Irving Fischer, Yetta Kalish, Garret DeYoung and Adolph Dolder, candidates for Assembly, and Benjamin Kraft and Elmer Hamm for Freeholders.

## Union Official Murdered

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—William N. Polley, business agent of the Truck Drivers' Union, and one of the most successful and best liked labor organizers of this city, was shot and killed by three gunmen on the streets of this city recently.

Friends and associates assert that in recent months Polley had been approached with substantial bribes by big trucking interests, but that he always spurned the would-be bribers.

The funeral brought out an immense number of friends and members of the labor movement.

## On the Pennsylvania Front

Special to The New Leader  
PITTSBURGH.—The Socialist Party of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) will hold the following campaign meetings—Friday, October 25, Arsenal High School; Hazelwood School, and at the home of Herman Tuttle, Noblesstown Road, Carnegie; Monday, October 28, Spring Garden School; Conroy School, North Side; Tuesday, October 29, Thaddeus Stevens School, West End; Langley High and Watt School; Wednesday, October 30, Kingsley House, Larimer Avenue, East Liberty; Knoxville School and Snodgrass School; Friday, November 1, Perry High School; McNaughton School, North Side, and Arsenal High School, Lawrenceville.

The speakers include Robert Lieberman, Chairman of the Unemployed Citizens League of Allegheny County and candidate for County Commissioner; Frank Van Esen, candidate for City Controller; Herman Tuttle, candidate for Judge of Election; William Adams, candidate for County Commissioner; James H. Hueston, organizer of the Moulders Union and candidate for City Council; Sidney Stark, member of the State Executive Committee; Milton Weisberg, State Secretary, YPSL; Emil Limbach, and David Rinne.

Special to The New Leader  
PITTSBURGH.—Within the next month at least forty classes will be launched by the Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County, an affiliate of the Workers' Alliance. A staff, headed by George

Meeting in Curwensville  
CURWENSVILLE.—Karl E. Paul, now making a tour under the auspices of the State Executive Committee, will speak at Curwensville Wednesday evening, October 30th, under the auspices of the party branch. Raymond Bloom of Scofield Street is in charge of the meeting.

## The Townsend Plan Has Noble Ideals But Its Cost Would Bankrupt America

Only Socialism Gives Real Hope to the Aged

By William M. Feigenbaum

WITH the object and ideal of the Townsend Plan no decent person can have anything but the deepest sympathy.

It is that as men and women grow older they should be relieved of the ghastly fear of insecurity, poverty and the need of charity to keep alive. No one dares question the right of human beings to desire to live out their lives in decency and self-respect, and to die like human beings, not like neglected dogs.

Millions of people are enthusiastically backing up the Townsend Plan. The signatures of millions are appended to Townsend petitions, and today those millions constitute a political factor of first-rate importance to whose strength the politicians of both old parties (and of many of the new groups springing up everywhere) openly bow.

This is the plan: Every man and woman in the United States, upon reaching the age of 60, is to be put on the payroll for a pension of \$200 a month for life; the only condition is that they immediately quit whatever paid work they are doing and that each monthly pension of \$200 is to be spent within the month.

The money is to be raised by a two per cent sales tax. That is all there is to the plan. Dr. Townsend, and the politicians embracing the plan, assert that by putting the plan into effect many hundreds of millions of dollars will be put into circulation, industry will revive, unemployment will disappear and everything will be just dandy.

While heartily sympathizing with the ideal animating Dr. Townsend in his campaign, it is necessary to discover whether or not the plan is feasible and can be carried out. There was, for example, a financial fiasco many years ago, who promised everyone who "loaned"

him money annual interest at 520 per cent. Money poured in, enough to pay the few people who asked for their interest. But, of course, the plan was a swindle and "Five Hundred and Twenty Per Cent Miller," as he was called, went to jail.

Now, Dr. Townsend is not a faker; but before accepting his plan and throwing support to it it must be studied carefully in the cold light of figures.

There are in Continental United States (or were when the 1930 census was taken) 10,385,026 people 60 and over, who would be eligible for the Townsend pensions if the plan went through.

They would immediately be pulled out of what gainful occupation they had and put on the pension, which would amount to \$2,077,005,200 a month, NEARLY ENOUGH TO CARRY ON A MODERN, SCIENTIFIC, CIVILIZED WAR FOR A COUPLE OF WEEKS.

In a year the pensions would amount to \$24,924,062,400, almost enough to become a respectable war debt. But a war debt stops after a while when the war ends, and then efforts are bent to liquidate it—after a fashion. But the pensions are to go on and on; as a matter of fact, we have recently been informed that the average age of Americans is steadily rising; the number of persons over 60, and the percentage of those over 60 to the total population will continue to rise as time goes on. And the twenty-five billion dollars a year for such pensions is only a starter, a mighty sum that will continue to increase heavily year after year.

Now, a sum like that, repeating itself and increasing every year cannot be raised by issuing bonds. It cannot be raised by printing paper money, for then we would all be rich in dollars and starving in goods. Dr. Townsend suggests a sales tax of two per cent to raise that sum.

But a sales tax of two per cent requires annual purchases of \$1,246,203,120,000 or ONE AND

ONE QUARTER TRILLION DOLLARS IN PURCHASES to raise that sum! And this will be but the beginning, as the number of persons over 60 continues to increase.

Now, it is assumed that the aged will not be taxed to pay their own pensions, so the tax will fall upon the 112,390,020 men, women and children of Continental United States under the age of 60. That means each one will have to account, for the purpose of this tax alone, for annual purchases of \$11,090, an average that will have to be applied to every man, woman, child and baby in arms, an average that will mean an annual average purchasing power for every family in the United States of over \$50,000!

But the percentage of the aged in the total population is rapidly growing; within ten years, twenty years, a quarter of a century, those over 60, instead of being 8 per cent of the total population will be 15, 20 and 25 per cent, and the burden upon those under 60 will steadily become proportionally greater.

To cite these figures—which are the obvious and inescapable corollaries of putting the Townsend plan into effect—is to show how utterly impossible it is even to dream of putting the plan into effect, and how disastrous it would be if it were tried.

The aged have a right to a decent old age and to self-respect and comfort without depending upon charity or living upon their harassed children. There is plenty for all in this country of ours, but the Townsend plan is not the way.

Those who agitate for the Townsend Plan arouse false hopes in the hearts of the distressed, and bitter will be their disappointment when it is shown that it cannot work. SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISM ALONE!

That is the way to security both for the aged and for those who are still able to do their work in the world.

## Battle on Relief, Power, Utilities Stirs Party Organization in N. Y.

(Continued from Page One)

let alone print the locations and the speakers. They are held in every district and on all the important street corners.

Never has there been such an opportunity. Never have the loyal and devoted Socialists done such selfless yeoman work in their cause.

In a number of districts special campaigns are being waged with special campaign papers, notably in the 6th A. D., Bronx, where Abe Hershkovitz is candidate for Assembly, and Estelle Abramson and Alfred Breslaw for Aldermen; in Brooklyn, where Julia Primoff and Alex Kahn are running mates in one district, and Morris Waldman and William M. Feigenbaum in another. Brownsville, under the leadership of Harry Lopatin, is again resounding to the old Socialist message, and on the East Side, in Queens and in all parts of the Bronx the message of Socialism is heard night after night.

The party office has issued an appeal for watchers. All party members and sympathizers who can spare the time are instructed to get in touch with party headquarters, 7 East 15th Street (ALgonquin 4-2620), at once for assignment and instruction.

The New York campaign is but one of many being waged throughout the country. In Newark the Socialists are cooperating with a promising labor party; in Reading and Bridgeport the comrades appear certain of victory; in Olean and Buffalo, in cities and towns in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and in many other parts of the country.

The municipal elections are rightly considered curtain-raisers for the 1936 campaign, and the Socialists are determined that they will make themselves felt in every part of the country.

## N.Y. Workers Honor British Delegates

ON Wednesday a lunch was given to the delegates of the British Trade Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor in the Commodore Hotel. About fifty guests attended on short notice after receiving an invitation from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Among the organizations represented were the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Garment Workers, the United Textile Workers, the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish Daily Forward, the Central Federation of Labor, the Central Trades and Labor Council, Radio Station WEVD, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. by Matthew Wolf, and The New Leader by James O'Neal.

David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., served as toastmaster and welcomed Andrew J. Conley and Miss Ann Loughlin, who represents the British garment workers. Andrew Noyes Smith was unable to be present. George Meany, president of the State Federation of Labor, welcomed the British comrades in the name of his organization, and James Quinn, secretary of the Central Trades Council, expressed similar greetings.

Dubinsky made a humorous reference to his difference with Matthew Wolf regarding political action, and Wolf responded by saying perhaps eventually he would recognize his "error." He expressed the hope that the American labor movement would soon be re-united with the Trade Union International.

Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, gave his impressions of the British and American movements over forty years, and declared that they are drawing closer together. The British movement was once at the present stage of the American movement, but the latter is catching up with our British brothers, said Cahan.

Miss Loughlin was of the opinion that the American movement was going through growing pains which the British workers experienced many years ago, and she had studied the A. F. of L. convention with absorbing interest. In Great Britain today, she said, when we talk of a trade unionist, we also think of a member of the

## Oneal in Big Olean Campaign Meeting

Special to The New Leader.

OLEAN, N. Y.—James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, took a hand in the spirited local campaign in this city for the election of John G. Cooper as Mayor on the Socialist ticket when he spoke to a large audience in Coast Hall.

The Socialists, who polled an excellent vote two years ago, assert that the chances for the election of Cooper are bright, and with an excellent local platform are pushing forward vigorously in the fight.

With Oneal at the meeting were Cooper and Robert A. Hoffman of Buffalo, who made a fine propaganda speech. Cooper presented a logical analysis of the party's platform and he stirred the audience to mirth when he mentioned recent scientific experiments in freezing monkeys and then restoring them to life. He suggested that jobless workers be similarly frozen, placed in drawers, labeled by occupations, drawn out and thawed into life as needed.

Oneal confined his address to an analysis of the world depression, saying that its causes are primarily due to the ownership by the capitalist class of the means of production and distribution which enabled that class to siphon surplus values from the labor of the working masses. Olean, he declared, was an outpost of capitalism and if the Socialists controlled the city or even the state they could not abolish capitalism. However, he added, to accomplish this aim it is necessary for the laboring masses to capture many outposts in the cities and states before there is any possibility of taking the main trenches of the enemy.

He closed with a spirited appeal for the masses to build the local party organization and to do their utmost to win a victory in November.

Socialist movement as well. She was sure that American trade unions were going to change in a very short time.

Comrade Conley was the last speaker. He said he was convinced that the ideals of the two movements are ultimately the same, that they only differed in methods. In England, he added, the political and economic movements are one and it is pledged to the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. He was pleased with the statement of President Green of the A. F. of L. on war, fascism and dictatorship. "There is the old slogan of Workers of the World Unite," said Conley. "The world is so closely knit together that American workers cannot stand aside from other countries. I believe that the A. F. of L. will get closer to the trade unions abroad. Let us carry on until the people of the world rule."

## Crawford Clothing Company Selling Force 100% Union

Upon the new agreement drawn up by Retail Clothing Local 1006, the signature of the Crawford Clothing Company heads the list of endorsers.

The agreement treats with a new deal for clothing salesmen. It provides for a minimum wage of \$30 a week, a forty-eight hour week and a guarantee of employment fifty-two weeks a year. 125 Crawford employees are directly affected.

In addition, to be union-sold, Crawford Clothes are also 100 per cent union-made, under working conditions prescribed by the locals. The officials of this company have always felt that union workers make better employees and do a better job. (Adv.)

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## LECTURES AND FORUMS

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WOOLSEY TELLER  
"The Intolerance of the Jews, Ancient and Modern"

## THE EPIC PLAN DISCUSSED IN A DRAMATIC DEBATE

Mr. Sinclair's only appearance in N. Y.

MECCA TEMPLE, Sunday, November 17th, at 8 P. M.

55c, 82c, \$1.10, \$1.65—Rand School, Workers Bookshop,  
Putnam's Bookstore or N. Y. Forum, 29 E. 10th St.

"Production for Use—Can It Be Established Under Capitalism?"

## UPTON SINCLAIR VS. NORMAN THOMAS

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"Production for Use—Can It Be Established Under Capitalism?"

**WANTED** A YOUNG MAN, college graduate with experience in public speaking and ability as an organizer, to take charge of a radical Jewish youth movement. Information should be sent to Box 823, New Leader, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. City.

## A CLEAR CALL AGAINST THE WAR THREAT!

Just off the press for the ninth anniversary of the death of Eugene Debs.  
**THE HERITAGE OF DEBS**  
—The Fight Against War—

Contents include biographical sketch, the Canton speech, speeches to the jury and court, and the Socialist position on war from 1917 to today. Illustrated.

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## PHILADELPHIA FURRIERS WIN STRIKE

By Flo Pryor

**Special to The New Leader**  
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The winning of the general fur strike here this week not only brought gratification to workers but brought glee to the swanky Main Line and suburban residents. It saved Philadelphia's flossy feminine "four hundred" from going furless this winter.

With the signing of agreements between 42 shops and Local 53 of the International Fur Workers, 250 pelt artists trooped back to adorn debutantes and their mamas with furry furbelows and frapperies for the coming social season.

The furriers under the leadership of International President Pietro Lucchi won union recognition, a closed shop, a wage scale ranging from \$30 to \$50 a week, and unemployment insurance.

The employers will give one and a half per cent of their payroll to the unemployment insurance fund administered by a board set up under union leadership.

A general strike of 300 jewelers in the International Jewelry Workers' Union brought government conciliators into the ring here this week.

Charles Kutz, veteran mediator of the State Department of Labor, and Mrs. Rose Forrester, colorful trouble-shooter for the national Labor Department conciliation service, both conducted conferences with recalcitrant employers.

A duo of swanky jewelers pulled the rugged individualism stunt, it is reported. Each observed disdainfully that he alone was the jewelry business, and all other es-

tablishments merely riff-raff. An agreement, they wound up, was demeaning.

George Allen, head of the local and second vice-president of the International, retaliated by tightening picket lines, especially invading the hushed sanctity of the two stubborn and funeral emporiums. Victorian patronesses of the velvet-throat vintage were treated to the unprecedented sight of husky young jewelers picketing the two ancient and musty gem houses.

Meantime, down in the diamond curb-market sector of the city, the marching and singing of pickets has forced the suspension of street corner bartering of jewels and gold.

### Arrests Mark Strike of Window Cleaners

**THE** window-cleaners' strike in New York City has been accompanied with many arrests, mysterious poisoned publicity in the daily press and charges of sabotage proven untrue in a number of court cases which William Karlin, Socialist and labor attorney, succeeded in having dismissed. This combination of poisoned publicity and police persecution has all the earmarks of a united front of reactionary interests.

The window-cleaners have had similar experiences since 1916, when the union was organized. Before the organization of the union the cleaners worked 70 hours and more a week and for \$9 to \$12 per week. By 1929 the union had reduced the hours to 48 and then to 44 per week. Chiseling in recent years reduced wages to \$36 per week and the strikers are demanding \$43 for a 40-hour week. Casualties are heavy among these workers. They are making a magnificent fight and expect to win.

### Lee to Speak for Branch 2, PENNSYLVANIA

Algernon Lee will lecture on Socialism and Communism in theory and practice for Branch 2, Workmen's Circle, at 896 Prospect Ave., Bronx, on October 25. The public is invited.

### HERE AND THERE IN PENNSYLVANIA

**PITTSBURGH.**—Rudolph Rocker will speak before the Workmen's Circle Forum on Friday, November 8th, 1862 Center Ave., Pittsburgh, on "Fascism and the Destruction of Culture." The lecture will be the first of a series dealing with the dangers of fascism.

**Symposium at Upper Darby**  
**UPPER DARBY.**—A symposium of party objectives will be presented by the Upper Darby Forum, conducted by the Socialist Party of Delaware County, Tuesday, October 29th, at 914 Market Street, opposite the 69th Street Terminal. This will be the fifth of a series of lectures.

**Pauli on Labor's Problems**  
**LATROBE.**—"The Opportunities and Responsibilities of Organized Labor" will be the subject of an address by Karl E. Pauli, organizer of the Socialist Party of Pittsburgh, Saturday, October 26th, at the K. of C. Hall, Ligonier and Second Sts. The meeting will be under the auspices of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, Local No. 72.

**Campaign Dinner**  
**PITTSBURGH.**—A dinner in honor of the Socialist candidates in Allegheny County will be held Sunday, November 3rd, at the Labor Center, 1862 Center Avenue, Pittsburgh, at 6. All the candidates will be present.

## A. P. FIRES WATSON FOR GUILD ACTIVITIES

**THE** charge that Morris Watson, vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild for Wire Services, was dismissed by the Associated Press in retaliation for his leadership of the members of the Associated Press editorial staff in New York in their demand for collective bargaining, was made by the National Executive Board.

The board immediately resolved to "pledge the full resources of the American Newspaper Guild to gaining reinstatement for Vice-President Watson and recovery of the livelihood of himself and family, and seek the support of other employee organizations to the same end." The board further resolved that the American Newspaper Guild would "by all means at its disposal acquaint the reading public with the anti-labor policies of the Associated Press."

Vice-President Watson was temporarily dismissed by the Associated Press management on Oct. 18. No cause was given other than the "dissatisfaction" of the management with Mr. Watson's work, and the feeling that he was dissatisfied with the Associated Press and would "be happier elsewhere."

The dismissal took place within a few hours after the delivery of a registered letter to the Associated Press from the American Newspaper Guild stating that the Associated Press Unit of the Guild had, by an overwhelming vote, requested the national Guild to seek a conference with the management for the purpose of collective bargaining regarding the hours and conditions of work in force for the editorial staff of the New York office.

## Custom Tailors Win Big Strike

By E. Rabkin

**THE** Amalgamated achieved a complete and speedy victory in the strike of the custom tailors when on Oct. 23, a settlement was reached with the Manhattan Merchant Tailors' Association by which the workers receive an average wage increase of 10 per cent. The workers at a mass meeting soon afterwards enthusiastically approved the report of their officers about the settlement. The workers of the Association shops are already back at work.

Settlements are now in progress with the independent merchant tailors. Almost all have signified a willingness to settle on the same terms. The union is not satisfied with this alone, but demands independent cash security to guarantee that they will live up to the agreement.

### Strike in Norfolk, Va., Continues

The strike against Sam Finkelstein & Company in Norfolk, Va., called by the Amalgamated Aug. 15, is still in progress. Jacob S. Potofsky, who leads the strike, reported on a recent visit to New York that slow but sure progress is being made by the union in spite of almost insurmountable obstacles. Last week a number of workers,

now employed by the firm under a yellow-dog agreement, have joined the ranks of the strikers.

In the early stages of the strike, the firm secured a temporary injunction, which permits the union to maintain one picket with signs at each entrance to the factory. The firm is now suing for a permanent injunction and a hearing will be held by the Norfolk County Circuit Court on November 9. The Amalgamated is determined to prosecute the strike with all its force until a satisfactory settlement is reached.

### More Injunctions in Cincinnati

Last week we reported a string of injunctions against the Amalgamated in Cincinnati in the strike against the Ohio Custom Garment Company. This injunction provoked so much justified indignation and protest on the part of the general labor movement that Common Pleas Judge Alfred Mack, who issued that injunction, was compelled to withdraw from this case.

Another firm, the Hamilton Tailoring Company, against which the Cincinnati Joint Board is also conducting a strike, secured an injunction against the union, issued by Judge Charles S. Bell. This injunction, however, was not so

sweeping. It gives the union the right to have sixteen pickets at the main door and four pickets at the rear door of the plant; he enjoined union members from trying to induce employees to break the yellow-dog agreement with the firm.

### Butchers' Union Backs Joe Belsky for Assembly

For the first time in its history the Amalgamated Meat Cutters of North America has endorsed a Socialist candidate for office. Joseph Belsky, Socialist candidate for Assembly in the 8th A.D., New York, is the recipient of that distinction.

Patrick E. Gorman, president of the Amalgamated, writes "I regret that I am not a New Yorker so that I might vote for you to go to the New York legislature. I sincerely wish that you will be elected."

Comrade Belsky is secretary of Local 234 of the Amalgamated, and his trade union work has often brought him to Albany in connection with labor legislation.

His running mate is Joseph Mendelson, a brilliant young Socialist Party worker and organizer, who is candidate for Alderman.

## American Labor Seeks to Solve Problems

(Continued from Page One)

### A United Front

It would be easier to answer if there could be any agreement on the question as to what constitutes a progressive. John L. Lewis, whom fate chose for leadership of the progressives, has for years been regarded by so-called progressives as the personification of all that is undemocratic, dictatorial and reactionary in the labor movement. Now these same progressives—or shall we call them left-wingers, militants connected with the Socialist Party, and Lovestone Communists, who had a sort of united front at the convention and conferred frequently on "strategy"—decided that Lewis is a progressive, because, first, he forced Woll off the Civic Federation, and, second, because he led the fight for industrial unionism. There was a feeling that there was some personal antagonism which in part accounted for the vigor with which Lewis went after Woll. Until very recently, prominent mine workers' representatives were also connected with the Civic Federation. If it was all a matter of conversion—of having seen light—it came on Lewis very suddenly and very recently.

And on the industrial unionism question, as we have already indicated, the issue was very much restricted, and cut across traditional lines. Charles P. Howard, president of the Typographical Union, one of the most pronounced of craft unions, stood with Lewis. It was, therefore, not really a test of anyone's progressivism. The needle trades did not have to become converted to industrial unionism; yet, as was pointed out, both in debate and privately, these unions are in some respects a federation of craft union locals, not entirely devoid of jurisdictional disputes.

### Disillusionment

It was when the progressives, so-called, were fully convinced that there had been a realignment in the convention—that they, by back room caucus and conferences had brought it about—that in a few days it had become sufficiently powerful to muster 11,000 out of 29,000 votes cast on the industrial unionism issue—and that Lewis was their newly discovered Messiah, that their disillusionment began to set in.

It came first when a candidate was named in opposition to Matthew Woll for reelection to the vice-presidency. Those who seemed to have been working in close harmony in working out a "strategy" or a "line" began to disclaim connection with the plan the moment they saw the way the vote was going. Yet, when the scheme was hatched, it had been worked on for at least several days. A little more than 200 votes out of 29,000 votes which were cast is about a fair indication of "radical" strength in the convention. It was also an indication that if the labor movement adopts new tactics and departs from its traditional position it will not be because of any influence that these saviors of organized labor have been able to exercise, their influence for harm has always been greater than their influence for good. If anything, they will throw into each other arms those who fundamentally agree, no matter what may be the differences on minor issues that may divide them. They were not able even to create a real side show, with all of the maneuvering, manipulating and conferring which they indulged in. The labor movement just passed them by.

**The Labor Party**  
If their disillusionment was not complete when the vote on Woll's "contest" was announced, it was pretty complete when the vote was taken on the question of independent political action. It is safe to say that there were about 5,000 out of the 31,000 votes in the convention for a labor party. But those who would cast those 5,000 votes for a labor party would be the first to admit that the labor movement is not yet ready for such action—that if, by any magic, a resolution to establish a labor party could have been carried at this convention it would be a setback, rather than a gain, because it would result in so many defections and refusals to abide by the decision. So while a debate was provoked upon the subject it was helpful mainly because of the educational effect that it could have.

Sooner or later a resolution for a labor party will be adopted. Perhaps it will come when the mass industries are organized. But it will come, just as industrial unionism seems to be coming, slowly, gradually, and, above all, from within, instead of from without the labor movement.

Lewis, Howard and others who headed the industrial unionism fight were among the first to put thumbs down on independent political action. Again, the left-wingers were disillusioned.

### Eliminating Communists

But the climax was reserved for the debate and vote on the amendment restricting the activities of the Communists. Here the left-wingers were sure that they would master a vote large enough to defeat the proposal. A constitutional amendment required a two-thirds vote. Surely they could muster the one-third necessary to defeat it, from the miners, the needle trades, the Federal unions, the textile workers, and sundry others. What they did not seem to realize that there was really no difference of opinion among any of the major unions about the necessity of destroying the Communist activities in the unions, some of which properly regard the growth as a cancer which must be treated radically. The only question was how to do it without impairing the fundamentally democratic character of the trade union movement.

It seemed to some that to take too drastic a step would be to want to burn down a structure because some vermin was found in it. It seemed to others that the same end could be achieved without doing violence to the idea that the labor movement was big enough and broad enough to maintain its democratic traits while rendering the Communists harmless. For ex-

ample, instead of excluding Communists because of the principles they profess, it was thought that they would be excluded because of their dual allegiance to Moscow, and their destructive activities. But it was only a question of how to word it—there was no real difference of opinion about the necessity of eliminating the Communists.

### The Amendment

The amendment, somewhat modified from what had been recommended by the Executive Council, but supposedly drastic for immediate purposes, was passed with but a few scattering noes. The announcement by Lewis that as modified the amendment was acceptable to his delegation ended any hope the left-wingers had of being able to use the democratic provision of a two-thirds vote to bring about an amendment to impose autocratic or dictatorial powers on those who may hope to capture trade unions.

In other words, taking the convention as a whole, for the first time in years there has been a real issue within the trade union movement itself. It was not imposed from the outside, and its discussion was not influenced either by liberals who have been offering gratuitous advice to the labor movement, or by parlor pinks who know how the labor movement can be saved even though they have never been connected with it. No immediate change of policy was voted. But the Executive Council, on which the craft unionists predominate, has had a solemn warning. It must make a real effort to organize the basic industries. Even if its failure to do so is not due to the fact that some day such unions will be divided into crafts—and even if it is not true, as the leaders of the Industrial unionists repeatedly stated that there are millions clamoring to get into the Federation if it will only let down its bars—it will not help the Executive Council to offer any excuses next year. At this convention the Council was on the defensive, but mainly because it happens to be in power and must show results. It will be in power during the coming year, and will have to show results.

### Outside "Saviors"

If it fails the fight next year will be more bitter. I do not know where the industrial unionists will augment their forces. It will have to come from the craft unions. But if some have already joined the industrial unionists—as they have—there is a possibility that others will. After all, they are not in any danger of being dismembered themselves. They have not succeeded themselves in the basic industries. All that they will have to yield is a hope that they had, but which they had not been able to realize, of some day organizing the basic industries along craft lines. They may want to give up this hope in return for a promise—which is hardly more than a hope itself—that by adopting the industrial form of organization the Federation will succeed where it has so far failed.

But when the issue is settled it must be clear to the left-wingers, inside and outside of the labor movement, that if it is regeneration the labor movement needs, it has within itself whatever forces are required for such regeneration. The labor movement pursues the even tenor of its way, fully conscious of its weakness, its powers, and its responsibilities, and fully determined not to fly from evil of which it knows, and which it is confident it can eliminate, to evils of which it knows not, but which it can suspect from what the extremists have been able to do to the labor movement in those countries where any considerable number of workers were misled into trusting them.

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# ARRESTING A LIE

WE WILL DONATE  
**\$5,000**

to any charitable organization named by the mayor of your city if you can find a shred of truth in the rumor that the clothes in our WINDOWS are not the same quality in tailoring, fabrics and styling as those in our stores.

**L**EADERSHIP incites envy and creates malice.

It doesn't matter in what field one excels—whether it be the stage, the screen, the arts and sciences—or something more prosaic, like the clothing business...

When one becomes the talk of the town, that leader becomes the target of marksmen who don't particularly care where fact ends and fiction begins.

Absolutely baseless rumors have been set afoot about so many leaders, that to be maliciously lied about seems to become one of the badges of success,

At this time, a rumor is being circulated about Crawford Clothes to the effect that the very fine clothes we show in our windows are a much better quality than those we sell in our stores.

We wish to thank those responsible for this rumor, because unintentionally they paid us a fine compliment. THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS THAT THE "VERY FINE" GARMENTS DISPLAYED IN OUR WINDOWS COME FROM OFF THE RACKS IN OUR STORES.

The public knows that Crawford grew from a single store into New York's largest clothing chain in but a few years. The public knows that we en-

joyed a 70% increase in business thus far this year. And everyone knows that such continued success just isn't compatible with misrepresentation.

HOWEVER... ridiculous as this FALSE CHARGE may be, some few people may believe it. Therefore we're doing something definite to ARREST THIS LIE. If any individual can find a grain, a shred, or an iota of truth in what the rumor spreaders are saying, we'll donate FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$5,000.00) to any charitable organization named by the Mayor of your city.

### Incidentally...

We can't resist saying a few words about the new Crawford Custom Quality Clothes. A glance... a try-on... then a look at the \$18.75 price tag... will show you exactly why OUR BUSINESS HAS INCREASED 70%, why we have had to open two more stores in New York during the past few weeks, with four additional stores to be opened within the next four months. Therefore, when you look at the garments in any Crawford window you can be assured that you will find identically the same quality on the racks inside our stores. Then you will understand why Crawford has made such phenomenal strides.

CRAWFORD CLOTHES, Inc.  
New York's Largest Clothing Chain



# "La Maternelle" Scores at the 55th Street Playhouse

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### THE "BESS" PORGY

"PORGY AND BESS." An American Folk Opera. Music by George Gershwin. Libretto by Dubose Heyward. Lyrics by Mr. Heyward and Ira Gershwin. Theatre Guild production at the Alvin.

In most operas one tolerates the story for the sake of the music; there is rare quality when, as in "Porgy and Bess," both the tale itself and the music are deeply moving. If there is any work that deserves the name of "American folk opera" it is this pathetic legend (such by now it may be called) of the Negro cripple of Catfish Row, of happy lives and sudden deaths, of poor Porgy's finding love—not for his holding.

It was a "natural" to the composer's hands: the play "Porgy" was a tried success; and for his best moments he has a chorus of Negro singers—which is a recipe for good music. This "folk" opera differs from the more formal (or Metropolitan) variety in the introduction of lyrics; and these are some of the happiest pieces—whether in the form of choral prayers, or as complete songs that demand resining: "A Woman is a Sometime Thing"; "It Ain't Necessarily So"; "I Got Plenty of Nuthin'"; these in their various moods are all delightful.

As a play, "Porgy" was always weak in construction; and the opera retains the order that carries off the villain in the third scene from the end, the heroine in the second, and the hero in the last. But while the story is never tragic, it packs the teary pathos, that is perhaps even more satisfactory to the average audience, being nearer the level of middle-class competence.

Opera in English inevitably raises the question of the libretto; a foreign tongue permits us to judge the words as part of the music; in our own tongue the meaning insists on being considered. And to hear some one sing "I'm not soft on any woman!" or "How much is in the saucer?" "Fourteen dollars and fifty cents!" still seems incongruous. It is thus praise indeed to record that, despite these inevitable ineptitudes of the libretto, the opera holds both for its meaning and its music. It is a variously composite work; but one truly blent of many potent arts. The excellent settings of Sergei Soudaïkine; the direction of Rouben Mamoulian, who repeats the sensitive guidance he gave the play; the attuned singing of chorus and principals (Todd Duncan as Porgy; Anne Brown as Bess) combine with music (conducted by Alexander Smallens) and story to make "Porgy and Bess" a strengthened renewal of a valid contribution to the American theatre, and a good study—in terms of sentiment and sugar—of a phase of our Negro life.

### "Legong" Continues at World Theatre

"Legong, or Dancing Virginia" is now in its fourth week at the World Theatre. Made with the aid of an all native cast and carrying technicolor into the tropics for the first time, this simple little love story of Bali was conceived, directed and produced by the Marquis de la Falaise, who thereby has become a formidable figure in the field of motion pictures made in the far parts of the earth.

As an incidence of the response which "Legong" has aroused, the management has received a letter

### In D. A. Doran's Opening Play of the Season



Betty Lamford makes her return to the New York stage in "There's Wisdom in Women," which opens Wednesday evening at the Cort Theatre.

from Andre Roosevelt, who, with the aid of Armand Denis, now in the Belgian Congo on a major film expedition, made the first of the many Balinese pictures, "Goonag-Goonag." Mr. Roosevelt writes: "This exquisite picture of Balinese life has made me infinitely homesick. You know I lived there three and a half years and my greatest ambition is to return there. Before my eyes, in color, lived some of my dearest friends, some of the dear little dancing girls whom I knew as children now grown up, the sacred dancers and the magnificent cremation ceremonies. De la Falaise's simple little story is touching. It is beautifully acted by these simple people—no, not acted—but actually lived by them.

### "Rendezvous" at Capitol

William Powell's new picture, "Rendezvous," a sparkling mystery-romance, comes to the Capitol's screen today.

### HITLER und MUSSOLINI would ban

### RENÉ CLAIR'S

newest Film Hit

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### "LA MATERNELLE"

A personal comment by Jean Benoit-Levy, director of "La Maternelle"

In adapting for the screen, "La Maternelle," the Prix Goncourt Novel by Leon Frapie, we were halted many times by the richness of the subject. Here we have not a drama which takes its course between three or four people, but a multitude of dramas, different from each other, and solely kept together by these children who every morning push their way through the gate of the school.

This school of "the small ones," which at the time when Frapie wrote his story (1904) has already been a moral asylum, though being somber and sad like a prison, is pictured in our film as what it has developed to become now: a light island in the slums, filled with flowers, and birds—a haven of refuge in the sad life of these "Children of Montmartre."

We needed a great number of children, not prodigies, but real children, the oldest of which were not to be more than 9 years old. None of them who were selected were professional actors, none of them had ever learned a line by heart. In bringing to their understanding each situation of the scenario in which they had to perform; we always tried to make them find their replies for themselves, with their own proper words, rather than to give them written answers to study.

I think that one of the reasons for their perfectly natural behavior has been the fact that they felt like a group. While one child, alone, among many grown-up people, would be paralyzed by embarrassment and without vitality, 250 children together represented a power—and that is what they all felt. Being confident by reason of the few grown-ups who surrounded them, they began to live with an animal-like reality and became, by their brutal naturalness, dangerous partners for the grown-up actors and professional stars.

On the first day of our work, Madeleine Renaud, spontaneously replied to one of her colleagues who asked her regarding her make-up: "We are not going to use any make-up in this picture! How would we look in make-up, playing with these children?" And the first day that she knelt before one of the children, it was not to accomplish a "graceful" move that would look "charming" on the screen. It simply wouldn't have fitted into the scene or any scene of this film.

And without physical or moral make-up, that is to say without any professional tricks, Madeleine Renaud, and her co-workers interpreted their parts in "La Maternelle." Madeleine Renaud, Alice Tissot, Sylvette Fillacier, Mady Berry, Henry Debain, Alex Bernard, they all adjusted themselves to the level of these children—that means, they lifted themselves up to their natural simplicity.

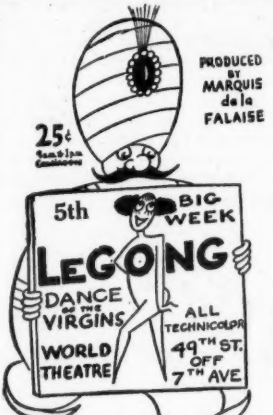
All of us, conscious of the greatness of Leon Frapie's work that had been entrusted to our care, united our efforts to lead it to something worthwhile. We have been able to realize the truth that lies in the words of the brave Mme. Paulin of the film: "You have to like children a lot to do this kind of work."

### In American Premiere at Cinema De Paris



The Dictator and his Queen in Rene Clair's latest satire on dictation and royalty, "The Last Millionaire," which opens Tuesday night at the Cinema De Paris.

up to their natural simplicity. All of us, conscious of the greatness of Leon Frapie's work that had been entrusted to our care, united our efforts to lead it to something worthwhile. We have been able to realize the truth that lies in the words of the brave Mme. Paulin of the film: "You have to like children a lot to do this kind of work."



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Opens at **BROADHURST Theatre**, W. 44th St., NOV. 6th A New Play by ALBERT BEIN **LET FREEDOM RING** A Drama of the "LINT HEADS" Based on GRACE LUMPKIN's prize novel "TO MAKE MY BREAD" Benefits arranged by Elia Allen—Wife, 7-6935 Advance ticket sale apply 229 W. 42nd St., Room 569

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### Albert Bein's "Let Freedom Ring," New American Labor Play, Tells Dramatic Story of South

"Let Freedom Ring," the new American labor play by Albert Bein, which opens at the Broadway Theatre, Nov. 6, brings to the stage a dramatic phase of the long industrial struggles of the South. Based on Grace Lumpkin's novel, "To Make My Bread," which won the Maxim Gorky prize for the best proletarian novel two years ago, "Let Freedom Ring" tells the history of the mountain people of the Carolina hills. Driven from their hill homes by the invasion of big lumber companies, these "descendants of Daniel Boone" migrate to the valleys where, agents have promised them, "money grows on trees" for those who work in the cotton textile mills. The play unfolds the life of a typical mill-town of the south, the factory, the poverty of the mill hands and, in a human and dramatic fashion, writes the story of the industrial revolution of the South, and the birth of the modern industrial mill hand.

Albert Bein, who is the author

of "Little Ol' Boy," a drama of a southern boys reformatory which won acclaim on Broadway two years ago, spent two and a half years perfecting "Let Freedom Ring." The play has won the enthusiastic approval of many labor leaders who have read the script. Worthington Miner will direct the play; the settings have been designed by Mordecai Gorelik. The cast includes Will Geer, Shepperd Strudwick, Norma Chambers, Rose Keane and Leslie Stafford.

### Two New Features on Screen At Brooklyn Strand

"Little Big Shot," with Sybil Jason, the new five-year-old star sensation, Robert Armstrong, Glenda Farrell and Edward Everett Horton, heads the double-feature program. This week at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre, "False Pretenses," with Irene Ware, Russell Hopton, Sidney Blackmer and Betty Compson, is the second feature.

**"KEEP YOUR MIND ON YOUR SPY BUSINESS, MR. POWELL!"** That man Bill Powell says the damndest things just when you're getting all excited about a slinky girl spy with danger in her slink. The girl with the "I-get-what-you-mean" look in her eye is Miss Rosalind Russell. The picture is called "RENDEZVOUS" (With Love) and to put it mildly, it's SWELL! Check us up, please!

Now Playing at the **CAPITOL** 51st St. & Broadway, N.Y. City. Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

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3rd BIG WEEK **"BARBARY COAST"** with MIRIAM HOPKINS EDW. G. ROBINSON JOEL McCREA UNITED ARTISTS **RIVOLI** BROADWAY at 40th St. Continuous performances from 9:30 A.M.—Midnite Shows

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THEY'RE IN THE NAVY NOW! — DICK AND RUBY IN THE U. S. NAVAL ACADEMY'S "FLIRTATION WALK" — WARNER BROS. PRESENT

2nd Week - **DICK POWELL-RUBY KEELER** in **"SHIPMATES FOREVER"** - STRAND - 25c

A FRANK BORZAGE PRODUCTION — A COSMOPOLITAN PICTURE — RELEASED BY FIRST NATIONAL PICTURES, WITH LEWIS STONE — BROADWAY AND 47th STREET — TO 1 P.M. Weekdays



# British Labor's Debate on War Crisis

Concluding Part of Discussion at Brighton Congress at Which Labor Party Voted for Sanctions Against Mussolini. --- Italian and Austrian Socialists Back Stand.

WE present here the second and final instalment of the historic debate on sanctions and the Italo-Ethiopian crisis which took place at the congress of the British Labor Party at Brighton October 1 and 2. When the vote was taken it was 2,168,000 for sanctions and 102,000 against. The first instalment of the debate appeared in last week's issue of this paper.

## Lansbury Speaks

When George Lansbury rose to speak he was warmly cheered, and the delegates, as a token of affection, sang, "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

"I am in a very difficult position today," he said. "Only the Executive and my colleagues know how often I have disagreed with policy and how many times, because I was a member of the Executive and lately because of my other position (Leader of the Party), I have remained silent during conferences. I want everyone to understand that it is bitter and difficult for me to stand here today and publicly repudiate a big fundamental piece of policy."

"If I were in any doubt about that policy, I should not take the line I am taking, but I ask the conference to be consistent." He had learned not to go through life looking over his shoulder at the ghost of what he had been.

It had been an overwhelming conviction of his ever since he was a boy, that force was no remedy.

During the last six years, first in the Labor government and secondly as leader of the party, he had been in a kind of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position.

He had to speak for the party and to see Sir Samuel Hoare for the party, and on each occasion he had tried honestly and straightforwardly to state the party's position.

If there was no inconsistency in that, well and good, he would leave it there.

He had never at any time told the workers of this country that they should take up arms, sticks or stones, to attain their ends, and when he was challenged on these issues he would say, "I have no right to preach pacifism to starving people here in this country and to preach something else to people elsewhere."

That had been a fundamental faith and was not a thing of expediency.

He had never in any circumstances said he believed that by force they could obtain Socialism.

He had taken up his attitude because of One whose life he revered and who had put it on record that those who took the sword should perish by the sword.

There were more armaments in the world today than before the war. Was the increase of armaments a sign of collective security?

Did they believe that each country had to pile up more and more armaments in order that they might all be secure?

It was not only a question of Hitler and Mussolini, but at the other end of the world there was Japan.

All were feverishly arming, and we met that situation as we met it before 1914 by saying that we must rebuild the British navy, if necessary through a £200,000,000 loan, that we must have the greatest air force possible, that we must mechanize our land forces and that in every possible way we must prepare our island for peace.

"For peace, mind you! We are going to move some of our schools from the South coast inland. They are talking of moving Woolwich arsenal down into Wales. We are training our children in gas attack drills."

"One newspaper demands that we shall have conscription now. It is not only Italy and Abyssinia you have to consider. You have to ask yourselves: What is all this for?"

"It was all started before the Italo-Abyssinian situation became so acute as it is today."

## War Becoming Worse

War, he said, became more bestial and more sickening every day, and he could not think that any body would believe that the Christ whose memories they adored, would be found pouring bombs or poison-gas on women, children and men, not even in retaliation, because it was also written, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay."

He could not see any difference between mass murder organized by the League of Nations and mass murder organized by individual nations.

If he went to Geneva, backed by the people, he would say that Great Britain, led by the common people, was finished with imperialism, that we were willing that all the peoples under our flag, where

ever they could establish government, should be free to establish their own government.

That there should be no such thing as domination, either in our minds or actions, but that we would be willing for the whole resources under our control to be pooled for the service of all men under the positive control of an international commission.

He would further say that we would be willing to become disarmed unilaterally.

The first imperialistic nation which had possessions overseas, and which went into practical Christianity of that sort, would lead the world away from war.

## Only Thing to Do

"It may be that we shall not meet on this platform again," went on Mr. Lansbury, amid cries of protest.

"Changes become inevitable," he continued, "and it may be that in the carrying out of your policy I shall be in your way."

"The only thing for an old man to do is to say what he believes, and to try to warn young men and women of the dangers of force and compulsion."

"The whole world seems to be hurtling to perdition. If I was the only voice in the country I should say what I have said."

## Bevin's Answer

Mr. Ernest Bevin followed with a strong direct demand for loyal adherence to party decisions on this question.

"When George Lansbury says what he has today in the day, and I hope you will not be influenced by sentiment of personal judgment," began Mr. Bevin, amid cheers and "Hear, hear" from Mr. Lansbury.

"I hope you will carry no resolutions telling men like Mr. Lansbury what he ought to do."

"If he feels he ought to take up the position he has, then he must take it."

"But it has placed us in a wrong position, this taking your conscience round from body to body asking what to do."

"There is only one question here: A decision has been made, and I am a democrat."

## Sanctity of Agreements

There was some interruption, and Mr. Bevin retorted that, having regard for the interests of half a million men, he had to recognize the sanctity of an agreement.

"I wish that had been applied by Mr. Lansbury to other members of the Council of Labor."

"I want to say this, and I expect you will want to shout at me that loyalty to decisions gives less publicity than disloyalty under certain circumstances."

Mr. Bevin described the history of the discussions that preceded the adoption of the joint resolution at Margate.

During the disarmament discussions, the T.U.C. had faced the alternative to the disarmament which all desired.

He did not think a single member of the parliamentary Labor Party, including the leader, suggested that unilateral disarmament should be put into the document "Peace and War," which expressed the policy of the party.

He went on to refer to the problem of Empire.

"We ask ourselves if we were going to be merely anti-imperialist."

The trade union view was that the 19th century empire could not last in the modern world, and it urged that colonial empires should be placed under world organizations.

The movement had supported and urged the admission of Russia to the League, and would have to stand by it, as Russia was prepared to do now.

It was trade unionism that had to face the onslaught of fascism, and they would be the first to go if fascism came here, and with them the last hope of freedom for the workers.

"It has been quoted against us that those who take the sword shall perish by the sword."

"Mussolini has taken the sword and we stand by the scripture, and say he shall perish by economic sanctions."

"I ask for an almost unanimous vote, leaving those who cannot accept the policy of this great conference to take their own course."

The resumption of the debate next day was prefaced by the reading of a telegram sent from Paris by the Italian Socialist Party.

It spoke of that party's desire to secure triumph for collective peace and for defence against aggression by the use of all means issuing from the Covenant of the League.

It said that the Italian Socialist Party was faithful to its traditions, and added that welfare and freedom in Italy could not be secured apart from the practice

ing of the policy of international collaboration.

Present events, it concluded, showed that fascism was the greatest war danger and a public enemy.

## Mr. Clynes Clears the Issue

J. R. Clynes then launched this historic debate on its final stage.

He said that speakers yesterday had referred to the policy of the Executive, and he thought the facts had better be made plain.

The Executive was not submitting a new policy, and was not proposing to extend the old policy. The party had made repeated appeals to the League for firm and courageous action.

"Are we now to run away from the policy which we said was the only good thing which had emerged from the war?"

He said he had every respect for the pacifists, but virtues did not make a policy.



John R. Clynes

"We can either take a part in Government," he added, "or get outside the circle of effective political action."

"We must either act now or cease to be a force in the international life of the world."

## "Thou Shalt Not Kill"

He accepted the sincerity of those who stood by the commandment "Thou shalt not kill," but he did not respect the declarations of those who said thou shalt not kill except thou kill a Capitalist or an Imperialist.

While he accepted the argument that peace could never be secured by force, he refused to let the matter remain there.

The question the pacifists had to answer was—could the peace of the world be maintained by allowing Mussolini a free hand? And they had to remember that they could not avoid risks by doing nothing.

He gathered that Sir Stafford Cripps had changed his position because he distrusted the motives of those who were now employing the League.

Were the small countries designedly supporting the League in the interests of the big countries? They could not wait till the

world was made up of Socialist States, he argued, and he advanced as the cardinal reason for defending the League policy that the taking of any other step would mean the making of wars continuous and certain.

## "Both Pacifist and Realist"

Wilfred Wellock, ex-M.P. for Stourbridge, said he was both pacifist and realist. He did not hold the view that Mussolini was the mere mad dog of Europe. He believed Mussolini was in a state of desperation about the stability of his regime—and Mussolini was not the only person in Europe in similar desperation today.

The capitalist system was in collapse, and from one end of the world to the other capitalist States were in desperation.

Philip Noel-Baker said the Conservative Press and Party were going to tell for months that the Labor Party was split from top to bottom on the issue of peace and war.

But he had been struck by the unanimity of the debate on the matter of purpose.

They were all agreed that they wanted the League, that they wanted a warless world, that they wanted drastic disarmament, economic reconstruction, and the end of senseless economic nationalism.

If the Imperialists in this country had their way they would strike a bargain with Mussolini tomorrow, and let him have his war.

He added that those who called the Covenant of the League a Robber's Treaty were sinning against the Holy Ghost, because they were denying the thing on which all hopes for peace depended.

If the Ambassadors were withdrawn next week—as he hoped to God they would be—the Italian people would know that the position was not one of Great Britain against Italy, but of Italy against the world.

Will Lawther, of the Mine Workers' Federation, said the miners were particularly concerned about the resolution.

On the wider party question he declared that the first step was taken years ago when the party vowed its adherence to the Covenant.

Today they were faced with this position—were they going to stand up to their repeated affirmations and declarations?

"If the party fails to stand up," he said, "to the policy on which it has attempted to get millions of adherents, we shall not only have missed a great opportunity, but we shall have proved true the statement that Winston Churchill made a few years ago when he said that Labor was not fit to govern."

"We shall have done that by refusing to accept responsibility."

He made a point in connection with the argument that the resolution would commit the party to support of the Government.

"The miners," he said, "are engaged in a wages campaign. I suppose if the Government offered us the two bob we should have to refuse it because the Government agreed with us."

## Austrian Socialists Back Sanctions Stand

THE Austrian Revolutionary Socialists have adopted a fine manifesto on the war by fascist Italy against Ethiopia. It denounces the Austrian sabotage of the League of Nations sanctions against fascist Italy and declares that Austrian clerical fascism is ranged against "the League of Nations and international law."

This manifesto has special significance because the Austrian Socialist movement is almost exclusively proletarian in nature, crushed by fascist artillery in the February battle of 1934. Since then the Austrian Socialist movement has been underground, its members hunted by fascist spies and the movement fighting a duel of wits with the police, army and ruling fascist officials.

The manifesto of the Austrian Revolutionary Socialists stands squarely with the policy of the British Labor Party, the Trade Union International, the Labor and Socialist International and the American Federation of Labor. However, it is in marked contrast with the war resolution adopted by the majority of the National Executive Committee of our own Socialist Party at Chicago last week. The Austrian Socialist manifesto follows:

Fascist Italy has undertaken an infamous war of conquest. At this moment the representative of the fascist government of Austria has protested in the assembly of the League of Nations against the sanctions which the League is obliged to apply against Italian imperialism, the disturber

of the peace under the definite provisions of the Treaties which Austria herself has signed.

The fascist government of Austria has thereby placed itself against the League of Nations and international law, against the whole world, upon the side of bloodthirsty Italian imperialism. Hungary alone shares its shame.

The Revolutionary Socialists of Austria condemn this despicable vassal service performed by the Austrian government for Italian imperialism.

They accuse the régime, which appeals daily to the teachings of Christianity, for declaring its support of the massacre which Mussolini has begun in Abyssinia.

They point out that this policy is in glaring contradiction with the vital interests of Austria, which demand that every weak State which is attacked by a Great Power should be protected by all the other States.

They point out that at least four-fifths of the Austrian people, cast down and held down by force, are embittered by this attitude of the fascist dictators who have usurped power in Austria.

They declare that the liberation of the Austrian people from the fascist régime of gallows and prisons is the condition for the liberation of Austria from the shame of being the vassal and accomplice of the Italian warmongers and assuming her position in the community of nations which are willing to co-operate against all who attack international peace and law.

The Re. R. W. Sorensen, speaking as a Pacifist, said he appreciated the logic under certain circumstances of the official party view, but he said, "We do not want the Labor Party to be merely a Tory Party with a red cap. I believe in the fundamental principles for which the Church stands," he said.

Jack Mills said that the country had to face the declared policy of Mussolini that war brings to the top the highest qualities of a race.

Out of the Great War came two international organizations—the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. The latter had meant more to the workers than 14 Leagues of Nations.

All this machinery would disappear if the League system collapsed.

## Mr. Shinwell's Reminder

Emanuel Shinwell, Labor candidate opposing Ramsay MacDonald



Friedrich Adler

at Seaham, said the real issue was not that men should not change their minds, but that having done so they should make decisions.

"George Lansbury," he said, "has been a great pioneer, but he must remind himself—as we are all bound to do—that we preach ideals to further them."

"We have got a long way to go before we get perfection, and equally we need to be certain where we stand."

"Much has been said about conscience, but there is such a thing as the silent conscience in times of crisis."

He appealed to the delegates to go out and express in a united voice the policy for which the party stands.

Mrs. Helen Bentwich, Labor candidate for Harrow, insisted that in standing by the League the Labor Party was not supporting the Government, but standing by international Socialism.

An impassioned speech demanding leadership for the party was made by John Morgan, Labor candidate for Leicester West.

The real issue so far as candidates were concerned was that of leadership, he said. Mr. Lansbury should face the problem and make his decision.

"I am not prepared to believe that George Lansbury is not in the order of politicians," he said.

"I believe he adopts a political attitude even in his best moments."

"Mr. Lansbury has quoted Scripture, but history shows that it is on the basis of law that peace is established, and we have to build up an international system of law."

"Love will follow with law."

## Herbert Morrison

In one of the most statesmanlike speeches ever delivered at a Labor Party conference, Herbert Morrison summed up the position with a dignity that restored the good humor of all the delegates.

He commented on the high tone of the debate, and declared that nobody on the Executive wished to thrust aside the views of the minority.

"The decision which you are making is one of the greatest and most vital in the great history of the British Labor Party," he said.

Every delegate, from whatever point of view he had spoken, had a passionate desire to bring permanent peace to the world.

There were differences as to how this could be done, but those differences should not be exaggerated, for through all the speeches there had run a passionate desire for peace.

Hitherto discussions about the League of Nations had gone on in rather an abstract way, but now the situation had arisen in which the practical application of those principles was involved.

"We are considering a new technique for the enforcement of peace in the world," said Morrison, "and it is not to be expected that everybody in a virile party like the Labor Party should agree as to the steps to be taken."

"All of us have struggled within ourselves to come to a decision on this policy, so let us have tolerance for those who have ideas and views that are not in accordance with the policy of the party."

There were involved in the issue two methods of bringing peace to the world—that of the League of Nations and that of the complete pacifist.

## Beginning of World Government?

While the League of Nations was not all that they would like, the Labor Party had been committed for years to this international system of the League, which, with all its faults, was nevertheless an incipient super-government of the world.

It had the beginnings of a world government.

"We must not injure it, he declared, amidst cheers.

"We must do nothing that would destroy the only good thing which came out of the Great War. It is something that is beginning a new order in the history of the world."

The Labor Party had supported the League of Nations, and must be prepared to stand by the implications of the League.

"But," continued Morrison, "we must not be tied, as backing the policy of the 'National' government, and although we are supporting the League policy the government is taking now, when we come to a point that they are losing faith and running away, we must have complete freedom to say so." (Applause.)

The Labor Party's faith was in the policy of bringing international disputes to a settlement without recourse to war, and that it was the greatest work of the League to prevent war.

Sanctions ought not to be taken in any way in a hurry.

That was not the way to peace, and it was not Socialism, but there must come a time when the League had to take steps to check an aggressor, first through economic and financial sanctions, and—let them not ignore the issue—eventually, if necessary, by force.

## To Fight for Peace

"I think," went on Morrison, "that economic and financial sanctions may well be effective. But do not let us delude ourselves with that belief."

"If they are not effective, I am not going to say that military sanctions are to be ruled out when it may weaken the power for peace."

The policy on which the party was now standing was its policy since the war, and the government must not suppose that this implied Labor action for increased armaments.

Labor must tell the peoples of the world that it stood for security against the aggressors, and must push forward the policy of peace till it became a habit of mind among nations as it was among our own people.

If the League was allowed to collapse, the world would revert to chaos, alliances, balance of power, and all the conditions that produced 1914.

The International Labor Office, with all it meant to trade unionists, would disappear, and Labor would have to start building all over again.

"The world has got to take itself by the scruff of the neck," said Morrison, "and say there is to be no more killing of men by men in the name of patriotism."

He went on to emphasize that the country should be made to realize how much the government was to blame for the present situation.

The great purpose of collective security was not more armaments, but that the nations should require less.

The Covenant sanctions were not the only things that mattered. Provision was made for treaty revision, including the Treaty of Versailles, and Labor should have the right to raise this question if necessary for the pacification of the world.

## Future of Colonies

On the question of colonies, Morrison said: "I would be prepared to say that no individual State should have Crown colonies at all—that the French, Italian and British colonies should be handed over to the League of Nations and administered and controlled by the League itself."

This declaration was greeted with loud cheers.

He asked the conference to give the Executive, in consultation with the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, powers to make new declarations from time to time as necessity arises.

Finally he appealed for tolerance towards those who had done so much for the party in the past, but who did not now agree on this point.

While extending tolerance to those at variance, he insisted that

the minority should also be tolerant to the decision of the majority.

"I have to check many minorities," he said, "but if the Executive asked me to steam-roller this minority, I would not do so."

"But they must play the game. They must take part in this great political instrument which our men and women have created."

"It is vital for the workers of the country, for all people in this and every country of the world."

"Let us come to one decision. It will be the decision of the party. Let us smooth out differences wherever possible."

On the vote being taken, the figures were:

For the Executive's resolution ..... 2,168,000  
Against ..... 102,000

Majority for ... 2,066,000

## L.S.I. Approves

When the conference resumed after lunch, Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, rose to address the delegates, and was received with round after round of cheers.

The proceedings of the conference, he said, were being followed by the workers in all countries with the closest attention, and he congratulated the delegates on their clear decision they had taken by such an overwhelming majority.

IN summarizing the debate and the meaning of the decisions, The London Herald wrote:

At Brighton the Labor Party reaffirmed its foreign policy by 2,168,000 votes to 102,000.

Let us see if we can set out, in the simplest terms, just what it amounts to.

It is a policy of world solidarity against war, of world combination against aggression.

It rests on the view that there will be no more war once it is made plain that war cannot possibly be successful, that the aggressor will be instantly overwhelmed by the combined forces of civilization.

The use of such combined forces, in Labor's view, is not likely to be necessary. But unless the nations are obviously prepared, as a last resort, to combine against aggression, then there is no adequate deterrent against war.

## Resolute Defense

If Mussolini had known last January, or knew now, that the fifty-five League nations would defend the Covenant as instantly and resolutely as their own territory, he would not now be preparing to attack Abyssinia.

The Labor Party therefore recommends British participation in a full League policy of collective sanctions as the only practicable alternative to an outbreak of war.

So much at a quick glance. But no one can firmly grasp and fully understand Labor's foreign policy without a second and deeper glance down to the principles of which collective sanctions are the practical outcome.

## Road to Peace

Labor supports sanctions because it believes that peace will be secured in the world only by reproducing in international life the same system of law which already prevails in national life.

Each nation today is an area reclaimed from anarchy by the application of law. And the reason why peace prevails inside nations but not inside the world is that law has been applied in the one area but not in the other.

What, in essence, is this law? It is that disputes shall not be settled by the relative fighting strength of the disputants, but by reference to an impartial authority, which shall be empowered to enforce its verdict if necessary.

Wherever peaceful societies are found



## The Workers Abroad

**Danish Elections a Victory for Democratic Socialism—Dutch Party Makes Plans for Socialized State—Swiss Workers Prepare for Election**

By John Powers

### Socialist Victory in Denmark

TUESDAY'S election in Denmark proved another resounding victory for constructive, democratic Socialism, the Socialism that has made such great advances throughout Scandinavia and is permeating in ever increasing measure the entire international Socialist and labor movement. Details of the results are given in our news columns.

The election was a victory not only for the Socialists but for the entire government coalition. It was also a crushing defeat for the Nazis.

The election demonstrated once more the wisdom of the Socialist policy, which rests on two fundamental principles: support of democracy through coalition with the rank and file of the peasants, and development and enforcement of a practical economic program to cope with the depression and promote the economic interests of the toiling elements of city and country.

Not only in Denmark but in the other Scandinavian countries, where Socialists also head the respective governments, this policy has proved a most effective instrument for the building of the Socialist movement, the promotion of social interests and the stemming of fascism. Nowhere has the battle against the depression, particularly unemployment, proved so successful as in Scandinavia. A convincing demonstration has been given to the entire world of how progress can be made under the leadership of Socialists acting in cooperation with other constructive, democratic elements. It is an example that the world cannot and will not ignore. In opposing this policy and urging its abandonment in favor of dictatorship, the Communists are promoting the interests of fascism and reaction. How well the Danish workers understand this has again been demonstrated in Tuesday's election: 27,000 Communist votes against 760,000 for the Socialists. In the last election the Danish Socialists polled 42.7 per cent of the total vote cast. They are now approaching a clear majority.

### Socialist Planning in Holland

The experience of the war and post-war crisis, with its catastrophic economic and political dislocations, expressed in several countries in terms of fascism and the destruction of the Socialist and labor movement, has convinced Socialists of the supreme importance of a constructive approach to the practical problems presented by contemporary capitalism.

Everywhere Socialists perceive that only insofar as they are able to contribute successfully to the solution of these problems can the political framework of democracy, so essential to the life of the Socialist and labor movement, be preserved and the cause of fundamental readjustment along Socialist lines be advanced. As already stated, this has been brilliantly demonstrated in Scandinavia, as well as elsewhere.

An important contribution in this direction has just been made by the Socialist Party of Holland. Based upon careful study and research, with the assistance of experts, our Dutch comrades have developed and made public a Plan of Action, the aims of which are summarized as follows:

- 1.—To resuscitate the economic life of the country from its atrophy and to damp unemployment.
- 2.—To equalize as far as possible future cyclical fluctuations.
- 3.—To regulate production and to adapt it to the needs of the masses of the people.

- 4.—To raise in a permanent manner the general standard of living.

The plan has two objectives: combatting the economic crisis and permanent economic reconstruction along Socialist lines.

For the attainment of the first objective the Plan of Action calls for a comprehensive program of public works and housing, improvement of technical equipment of industry and transport, reconstruction of the merchant marine, shortening of hours of labor, raising of the school age, and lowering of the age at which old age pensions now become effective.

Coupled with this immediate program and with attainment of the ultimate objective in mind, the plan demands measures for socialization, prepared and directed by a central economic and technical body, and supported by an industrial bank, with branches in all districts. The plan provides for the organization of certain interrelated producing groups and their regulation and cooperation under the direction of an Economic Council. Provision is included for making paramount the interests of the community in the administration of individual producing groups. There is to be nationalization of all monopolies.

A detailed method of regulation is provided in the plan for the four important fields of agriculture, transport, building and textiles. In the field of agriculture the plan proposes a number of measures for the regulation of tillage and stabilization of farming, particularly from the point of view of the interests of the small peasant proprietor.

Nor is the middle class, occupying a position of such great strategic importance in the economic and social structure, neglected in the program, which provides for a better organization of distribution and relieving the distress of the small trader. The program thus cuts the ground from underneath the fascists by depriving them of their appeal to the middle classes and peasantry.

The Plan of Action has been made public in a thick volume which presents the program in detail, buttressed by voluminous scientific data. To make it available and understandable to the large masses, a small popular booklet is to be published by the Socialist Party, together with a special illustrated weekly to be devoted to propaganda and popularization of the program.

The Socialist Party of Holland is one of the most powerful Socialist parties in the world. It has been making consistent progress and is destined to play an important role in the growth and development of Socialism in Europe, to which it has already made permanent and significant contributions.

### Progress of Socialism in Switzerland

With more than 500 delegates present, the Swiss Social Democratic Party held a special congress at Berne on September 22, in preparation for the forthcoming parliamentary elections. Like other Socialist parties, the Swiss Social Democracy is concerning itself more and more with the development and application of a practical program of action. Such a "Program of Immediate Action" was adopted unanimously at the Berne congress after reports presented by Robert Grimm and Paul Gruber. The program as adopted by the congress is set forth in an electoral manifesto. It contains the following demands:

- 1.—An inventory of the economic and financial situation of the country.
- 2.—Solution of the banking problem by means of a planned direction of credit.
- 3.—A commercial policy based on bilateral treaties.
- 4.—Reorganization of the transport industry.
- 5.—Combating of wage cuts.
- 6.—Reform of the system of state subsidies.
- 7.—Provision of work on a broad basis.
- 8.—Safeguarding of unemployment benefits.
- 9.—Relief of the burdens on agriculture and trade.
- 10.—Reform of public finance.

"By the realization of this program of immediate action we should secure that no one was without food and no one without shelter in Switzerland," the electoral manifesto declared. "The fight for the realization of this program is at the same time the fight for the preservation of the liberty and rights of the Swiss people. Without the maintenance and extension of popular rights there can be no building up of the national economy."

After a report presented by Reinhard, the Berne congress accepted a proposal by the Communists for a combination of electoral lists in the forthcoming elections. The congress agreed to the combination of such lists for the cantons of Basle, Zurich and Geneva, on condition that the Communists refrain from putting up candidates in the remaining cantons, where the Communists have no chances whatever.

Switzerland is one of the few countries where some Socialists are inclined to enter into a united front with the Communists on condition that the latter give proper guarantees that they will not misuse the united front for their own purposes. As reported in The New Leader last week, the Labor and Socialist International has rejected the united front proposal of the Communist International as insincere and designed primarily to help the Communists in their task of wrecking the Socialist and labor movement. Leading in the fight for rejection of the Comintern's proposal were the most important parties in the L.S.I., the British Labor Party, the Danish and Swedish parties, the Dutch party and the Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia. Insofar as the Communists are willing to refrain from putting up candidates against Socialists in Switzerland and elsewhere there can be no objection to their doing so. But "beware of the Greeks when they come bearing gifts." Our Swiss comrades have taken the position that they have no objection to the Communists voting for the Socialist candi-

## Shall America Participate in the Olympic Games at Berlin? No!

By Gerhart Seger

I HAVE clippings from numerous newspapers from all parts of the country about American participation in the Olympic games in Berlin; reports and speeches for and against; resolutions of various organizations and utterances of American journalists, some in favor, some opposed. It is an open question what the final decision will be.

The "Non-Aryan" Dr. Lewald, President of the German Olympic Committee, has again assured representatives of the American press in Berlin that nothing will happen to Jews who participate, that the treatment of the Catholics and Protestants in no way violates the Olympic principles of equality for all participants, and that Americans need have no scruples about going to Berlin. Judge Mahoney replied to Lewald in an excellent letter and pointed out some facts to this unprincipled "Non-Aryan" who allows himself to be used as an agent of the Nazi government, which Mr. Lewald against his better judgment either minimizes, keeps silent about or denies.

On top of these two public statements of Dr. Lewald and Judge Mahoney, there is an interview with Brigadier General Charles H. Sherrill, American member of the International Olympic Committee, just returned from Germany. The General is in favor of participation; he claims to have thoroughly studied the sports and political (1) conditions in Germany for two months, and he arrives at the astounding conclusion, that "if 5,000,000 Jews in the United States are successful in making 125,000,000 Americans pull their chests out of the fire for Jews of Germany, such an accomplishment might result in the rise of an anti-Semitic wave in the United States."

This sentence, classical in its frankness, compels the conclusion that General Sherrill must be regarded as the mouthpiece of Hitler in America; it is nothing but Nazi propaganda to maintain that non-participation is being considered only for the sake of the German Jews. Evidently, the General is unaware of the non-Jewish Catholic, Protestant and other utterances, and his formulation merely shows that he is already infected with Hitlerism. Not only the Jew-

ish question is to be considered, it is a question of the Olympic games; not politics are to be considered, but sports! We disregard what General Sherrill saw, or did not see, in Germany—whatever visits its countries under a dictatorship will always see only what the government wants him to see. The General himself will hardly have expected that the German Nazi government would stage a demonstration of maltreatment of Jews, Catholics and Protestants at a sports arena during the Olympic training.

### Basis of Nazi Sports

The General represents only Nazi opinion when he makes participation a Jewish question. Two questions alone are decisive: First, Can Olympic games take place when there is no guaranty of an atmosphere of fairness on which sports in general, and the Olympic code in particular, must rest? No. Such guaranty of an atmosphere of fairness is absent in Nazi Germany. In this connection it is unimportant whether one agrees with the Nazis or not: the fact cannot be denied that the institution of the totalitarian state—including the organization of German sports in conformity with the dictates of the Nazi party—rests on the absolute denial of the liberal principle of equality for all. This means the violation of the Olympic code; discrimination against the Jewish population is after all only a part of the entire picture. Nazi Germany has organized everything, including sports in accordance with the absolute dictatorship of the Nazi party; Nazi Germany repudiates, also in sports, the liberal principle of equality for all, which is the basis of the Olympic games; therefore, the guaranty of an atmosphere of fairness does not exist in German sports as organized on a party basis by the present regime; this means that the most important prerequisite for the Olympic games is absent. America cannot participate without itself thereby violating the Olympic code.

### An Objection Answered

Second question: Many Americans say, it is none of our concern who rules in Germany and what her politics are; we are sportsmen, and sport has nothing to do with politics. Excellent—that is just the reason why America must not participate in the Olympic games! American participation at Berlin would turn sports into politics; the Nazi government itself has announced that the Olympic games should be misused for international propaganda of

National "Socialism." Just as the Nazis have done this summer with the International Congress of Penology, so they will do as a matter of principle with every international gathering. Who wants to keep the Olympic games out of politics must not permit them to take place in Germany, because in Germany the Olympic games are inevitably condemned to be a means for Nazi propaganda on an international scale. To keep the Olympic games out of politics, it is necessary to keep them out of Nazi Germany, whose government has already announced an exhibition in connection with the Olympic games, the purpose of which is to demonstrate the "advantages" of Nazi dictatorship to the participants. Do American sportsmen want to go to Berlin in order to let a government show them by word and picture that the principles of the Olympic games—and of the American Constitution—are "liberal humbug?"

### Save Olympic Sports

Finally one more word to General Sherrill, Mr. Brundage and all those whom it may concern: No matter what assurances Herr Lewald and members of the German government may give, they are worth nothing! National "Socialism" rests on no moral basis: words of honor, assurances, oaths do not have to be kept. The Nazis promise everything conceivable and then do the opposite, when the guests arrive; those who attended the International Congress of Penology had this sad experience when they were reduced to a minority by mustering against them four hundred Nazi delegates, against all common rules of decency—a classical example of Nazi "fairness." Hitler began his activity as Chancellor on January 30, 1933, by delivering an oath to President Hindenburg that he would administer his office "impartially and with justice to everyone"—and what has remained of this oath? Not more than will remain of all the promises which are now made with regard to the Olympic games. The Americans cannot be so naive as to close their eyes to the fact that a gentlemen's agreement requires gentlemen; the Nazis, however, are not gentlemen, but—Nazis.

Let the Olympic games take place in another country, in Czechoslovakia, in Sweden, in Belgium, anywhere where the principles of the country conform to the principles of the Olympic code, where atmosphere of fairness exists which is the life essence of the Olympic games. The Olympic games have a reputation to lose—save it!

## Socialist Policy Toward Trade Unions

By August Claessens

Chairman, Labor Committee, Socialist Party, N. Y. C.

EVERY time some trade union difficulty arises, some factional warfare among the members or a battle between rival unions, a few Socialists get unduly excited about the need for a definite "Socialist policy" towards the trade unions.

This is especially true when Socialists are involved in a union controversy and are charged with misconduct, mistakes or bad judgment. Then other Socialists, usually not members of a trade union, declare that we have no trade union policy and that if we had one our trade union members would be properly guided. With such authoritative wisdom at hand, they believe, our conduct would be infallible in every troublesome trade union situation.

Whatever may be missing in Socialist tactics this charge is unfounded. The Socialist Party has a definite policy towards the trade union movement and for the guidance of its members in labor organizations. This policy has been declared in resolutions at several Socialist Party national conventions and substantially the same declarations have been issued by state conventions and official Party committees. In spite of these resolutions and frequent articles in the Socialist press on this subject many of our comrades, who should be better informed, keep on asking the same old question. So, like the old Gospel, our policy must be stated and restated every so often.

At the same time the Swiss Social Democracy has reaffirmed its faith in constructive democratic Socialism, as distinguished from utopian Socialism and dogmatic (misnamed "scientific") Socialism.

The election manifesto was adopted by the Berne congress by overwhelming majority. An atmosphere of complete unity and good spirits pervaded the congress. The party enters the electoral contest with prospects of victory. Because of the strategic position occupied by Switzerland, the results will be of particular interest and importance in the light of the tense international situation.

The Socialist attitude towards the trade unions is fraternal and cooperative. Socialists regard every organization of workers in the industrial field as an instrument in their daily struggle with their exploiters and the immediate means by which workers can protect their rights, advance their interests and elevate their status economically, socially and morally. Because of this attitude, Socialists are or should be sympathetic and helpful to every labor organization whether progressive or ultra-conservative, whether it is a militant industrial union or a craft union or just a selfish association of workers interested in themselves alone. Nor should there be any lack of attention by us because a group of its officials are hostile to progressive ideas, hog-tied to the Democratic or Republican parties, ruled by bureaucrats or worse. Our place is with the workers and if some trade unions in this country are stagnant, visionless and even reactionary, there are reasons for it. A large influential Socialist movement is the one important factor that distinguishes the trade unions of all other industrial countries from our own. Because we have grown up apart rather than together, as in Europe, because our American unions are not Socialist in philosophy, it is all the more our duty to influence and win them. Only by patient understanding and active cooperation with them in their problems and struggles can we close the breach between us. Labor organizations, no matter how ineffective or conservative, are the workers' weapons in the class struggle. The trade union movement, whether it is aware of it or not, is an instrument of social progress and from our point of view, an instrument of revolutionary importance in the abolition of capitalism and in building the structure of a Socialist society.

Out of this attitude arise the logical rules for the conduct of Socialists who are members of trade unions. Obviously, we must win over the trade-unionist to our philosophy. Since our philosophy is essentially workingclass, the organized workers must be our most important allies. If the Socialist Party is to be a labor party or if the Socialist Party is to become a part of a Labor Party, obviously by labor we mean principally, although not wholly, organized labor. To gain this close relationship, it

is obvious that tact, friendliness, service and persuasion are the necessary means to the end. Needless attacks upon trade union officials and policies are inevitably received as attacks upon the union and its members; and those radicals who have practiced this procedure have also been responsible for the conservatism and intellectual backwardness of many unions. The provocation for violent criticism may often be great, but the best critic is he who is sympathetic, understanding and patient rather than one who is hostile and intolerant and therefore liable to be taken as antagonistic.

There is no greater occasion for intelligent restraint by Socialists than when some schism occurs in the labor movement. No "definite policy" can be a safeguard against the rash actions of self-chosen leaders of the labor movement who think that every internal trouble is a sign of growth and progress; that every insurgent movement is always corrupt; that the opposition is always honest and that the new union appearing in a bitter conflict is inevitably the expression of the trend towards "new unionism." Then the "facts" alleged are not always true and in spite of the supposed acumen of Socialists and other radicals, they have too often backed the wrong horse and gained only a lasting hatred for their lofty intentions.

We must carry on a constant and intensive campaign to bring union men and women closer to Socialist aims and to ultimately obtain willing and fraternal cooperation between the unions and the Socialist Party in all political and economic struggles. Obviously we cannot gain this end in the Communist fashion of organized intrigue, cliques, nuclei, or steering committees. Socialists are not interested in gaining control of a union. Nor are Socialists anxious to have their comrades elected as union officials unless they are the best and most efficient men for the jobs. If Socialists are elected to positions of trust in a union they should be there on their merits as union men and if a union is sympathetic to the Socialist Party it is desirable that this relationship be gained through the influence and prestige of active and intelligent Socialists among the rank and file of the union's membership.

To further these aims the Social-

## The Theatre Speaks

The Guild's Relation to the Social Theatre

### The Theatre Guild

From such a charge as Arthur Hopkins: "The Theatre Guild is the most commercial theatre in New York," the Guild has its record and its aims to point to in defense. Russell Crouse, press representative of the Theatre Guild and known for his deft hand in many of our best musical shows sets down that record of achievement and points the path the Guild expects to follow, from the time when the Washington Square Players came from their Bandbox to Broadway, on through the long search of the Guild for good plays in the quest of the theatre as a truly social art.

Joseph T. Shipley.

### The Guild's Contribution

By Russell Crouse

THE Theatre Guild was probably the first producing organization in the American theatre to recognize the potentialities of the theatre as a social force. It has, from its inception, been concerned with the drama of ideas. It has, many persons believe, done more than any other organization to free the American theatre from the shackles of conventionality which, for many years, kept the drama in this country impotent.

When the Guild came upon the scene in 1919 the American theatre was, to a great extent, in the hands of a group of commercial producers to whom "box office" was the only criterion of a play. These producers had their own ideas as to what the theatre-going public wanted in the way of entertainment. It was a definite formula, and playwrights who attempted to violate this formula were anathema. It was almost impossible for a new idea to penetrate the stone-wall.

The story of the Guild is a long one. Briefly, however, it is this: Its organizers believed the theatre-going public, or at least a certain percentage of that public, wanted plays with ideas and was tired of trash. By organizing this audience by means of the subscription season, the Guild was able to carry out its experiment. The success of the organization through its seven seasons is proof of the fact that the audience was there and that it was willing to meet ideas in the theatre.

### A Changed Trend

The result of the success of this experiment—for it was an experiment, and a somewhat daring one in those days—was unusual. The entire trend of the American theatre changed. The Guild itself undoubtedly led the way and blazed trails that have since been followed by other producers and other groups. Some of these have gone further into certain by-ways first explored by the Guild. Others have followed other paths first trod by the Guild—for the Guild did not always march in the same direction. It explored many fields.

This policy of experimentation and exploration has enabled the Guild, through the years, to produce such plays as Elmer Rice's "The Adding Machine," probably the first radical play ever given professional presentation in this country; Ernst Toller's revolutionary drama, "Man and the Masses"; John Howard Lawson's undaring social indictment, "Professional"; Franz Werfel's "Goat

ist members of a union may be called together by our Labor Committee for occasional conferences and may be organized into a functioning Socialist League. We say "may" because this procedure may not always be desirable or permissible and our good intentions may be wrongly interpreted. There are unions that are hostile to the formation of any and all "clubs" and "leagues." Some unions are so infested with cliques, good and bad, that another grouping does not create much excitement.

The utmost care should be exercised in forming a Socialist Trade Union League in the average union. There is often the danger of gathering together too many pests and would-be leaders, of tactless people, or still worse, discredited elements who are anti-administration for petty or sordid reasons. We, in the Socialist Party, of New York have had a couple of those "Leagues" that were a distinct credit to the Party, and that alienated the leadership and the rank and file of the union. Most of our Trade Union Leagues are, I am happy to report, a credit to the Party.

### Utmost Care

Secondly, and equally important, is the task of our members in a labor organization to help make a better union men and women, to inspire the membership to the highest trade union ideals and to bring the union closer to its other locals and its International body and to encourage a bond of solidarity with all organized labor and the struggle of workers generally. It is also the duty of Socialists in the union to fight intelligently against narrow craft policies, racial discrimination, the lack of democratic procedure and corruption.

We should also work for educa-

tion; "Red Dust," a play stemming directly from the Russian revolution; "Roar, China," a vicious Soviet attack on imperialistic exploitation, and "They Shall Not Die," John Wexley's stirring drama of the Scottsboro case.

All of these plays were definitely political in theme and background. Equally important as to social content, however, were such plays as "The Failures," by H. R. Lenormand; "Saint Joan," by Bernard Shaw; "The Silver Cord," by Sidney Howard; "Porgy," by DuBose and Dorothy Heyward; "Strange Interlude," by Eugene O'Neill; "Elizabeth, the Queen," by Maxwell Anderson; "The Moon in the Yellow River," by Denis Johnston; "American Dream," by George O'Neill, and this year's "Rain From Heaven," by S. N. Behrman.

### Radical and Otherwise

Some of these plays were definitely radical in trend. Some of them were not. But all of them were plays of ideas, all of them plays of great artistic merit, regardless of their theme—almost all of them plays that might not have seen production had not the Theatre Guild done them. All of them, too, were plays with definite comment, plays that had something to say, and plays that said what they had to say well.

And now we come to what is probably the most important part of the Guild's program. Here it is necessary to point out that the Theatre Guild has never at any time in its career been committed to the production of anything but plays of outstanding artistic merit. It has never assumed to be an institution for the forming of political opinion one way or another. It has been strictly a non-political, non-propaganda organization, with its board of managers devoted entirely to doing what they considered a good job in the theatre, both in the selection of plays and the production of them.

### Shakespeare Was Right

In other words, as Shakespeare has so well put it, "the play's the thing." If it is a good play, with a good idea, the Guild will produce it. Whether it happens to be a play on one side of the political fence or on the other makes no difference. If the Guild feels that it is a good play and that it presents an important point of view, it will produce the play. It may be a play justifying the Russian revolution or it may be a play whitewashing the Czarist regime. The Guild is not primarily concerned with the play as an instrument of propaganda, for it is not a propaganda theatre. It is concerned first of all with its artistic merit.

That, then, is the Guild's position with regard to the so-called social theatre. It has probably done more for the social theatre than any producing organization in the country. It has, many persons believe, paved the way and created the audiences for the recently organized groups who are definitely committed to propaganda. But it has done so by doing what it considers to be its first duty—producing fine plays and producing them well. It will endeavor to continue to do so—and to let the propaganda chips fall where they may.

Next article: A picture of what Hollywood can do to a literary masterpiece, by Bryllion Fagin, professor at Johns Hopkins University and director of the Workers' Theatre of Baltimore.

tional and cultural work by the union and an active interest by the union in labor legislation, progressive ideals and for labor political action. If Socialist Trade Union Leagues, or conferences of trade union Socialists, will adhere to this program and policy there should be no serious objection to their existence. Where they depart from these objectives Socialists are a nuisance to the union and a liability to the Party.

Considering the changing times, the memory of Socialist mistakes in the past, the remarkably changed outlook of American Labor and the fine relationship that now exists between many trade unions and the Socialist Party, there is now all the more reason why we should adhere to sensible Socialist policies and ruthlessly repudiate such fools in our ranks as may again do their damndest to drive a wedge between organized labor and our Party.

### Texas Socialists Win Endorsement for Hillquit Amendment

By William Plampin

Texas State Sec'y, Socialist Party SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—The Socialists of this state are working hard everywhere getting endorsements for the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

J. W. Hembra of Smithville reports that he has secured endorsements from unions of brakemen, engineers, conductors and switchmen. He is working among railwaymen in various parts of the state of the state.

Other comrades in other parts of the state are working for endorsements in many sections of the labor movement.



# The N. E. C. Decisions

By James Oneal

THE proceedings and actions of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, which met in Chicago Oct. 12-14, may be summarized as follows:

The report of Secretary Senior shows that the national office has total liabilities of \$21,834 and a total deficit of \$11,793.

The party membership has continued to decline. The first seven months show a decline to 17,215, and the first eight months show a further decline to 16,270. The report for September shows another decline to 15,853 members.

The United Socialist Fund Drive report by states shows that nine small states, each with a small quota, alone exceeded their quota. None of the large states met its quota.

The most important actions taken were as follows:

## Approves Debate

The N.E.C. made itself a partner in the Thomas-Browder debate by voting to accept a share in the proceeds of the debate. The vote was 5 to 1, Oneal voting against. Hoan, Hoopes and Graham had expressed opinions against this course. Voting in favor were Thomas, Krueger, Allen, Haggood and Daniel. Hoan and Graham absent. Hoopes in the chair.

Lacking a quorum late Monday, the N.E.C. adopted a resolution ordering the New York State Committee to reinstate the five former members of Local Buffalo who had been expelled for advocating insurrection. This resolution will go to the whole committee for a mail vote. What members were present and voted for this resolution is not disclosed by the official minutes.

With a quorum present earlier on Monday, the committee voted to send a joint letter to the New York and Oklahoma state committees and to the American Guardian and The New Leader on the "shortcomings of the two papers." The Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association magazine, The Call, and the Socialist Appeal of Chicago were ignored, apparently having no "shortcomings."

Charges preferred by a Louisiana local against Siegfried Ameringer, accusing him of organizing the

Utopian Society were referred to the Oklahoma State Committee as information.

Accusations that Oscar Ameringer, editor of the American Guardian, is likely to run as the Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator in Oklahoma will be investigated.

Mrs. Meta Berger, widow of Victor L. Berger, appealed from a rule of Local Milwaukee which prohibits members from speaking at united front and innocents' organizations of Communists. The committee did not act on the appeal but voted to arrange a tour for Mrs. Berger to speak on Soviet Russia, which she recently visited. She favors the united front.

## Y.P.S.L. Decisions

The N.E.C. disapproved of the Y.P.S.L. raising the age limit of members to 30 years but permitted the Y.P.S.L. to continue to have such members until and unless the next national convention disapproves the N.E.C. decision.

It adopted a resolution on the admission of New York Yipsels to the party, which appears to set up new conditions not contained in the New York agreement. The resolution reads:

"Where a section of the Y.P.S.L. is alleged to be in conflict with a decision of a corresponding subdivision of the party, either the party subdivision or the Y.P.S.L. section may appeal to the Y.P.S.L. N.E.C., whose decision may be reviewed by the party N.E.C., provided that pending the decision of the party N.E.C., all actions or decisions in controversy on both sides shall be suspended.

"The Y.P.S.L. shall have the power to make decisions and policies which shall bind its members, so long as these decisions and policies are not in direct conflict with decisions and policies of corresponding party subdivisions."

To this was added a motion by Hoan, "that Local New York be asked to reinstate the Y.P.S.L. on the basis of the decisions made today without additional qualifications." Point 7 of the New York agreement says nothing about appeals but that the Y.P.S.L. "shall conform to the decisions of the local."

## Sends Document to Communists

The N.E.C. adopted a statement on war and the European situation on Monday when I was not present. The original draft prepared by Devere Allen had been reported on Sunday and it was about to be adopted when the writer criticized it, and it was referred back to the sub-committee for revision. The trend of the original draft was the super-pacifism of the Trotskyists.

The Communist Party letter asking for a united front was referred to the national convention at the Monday session. The Communist Party was also sent a copy of the war resolution of the N.E.C.

The N.E.C. elected Devere Allen a member of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International, displacing myself and giving the two seats to Thomas and Allen. A half or a majority of the party members thus have no representation on the international executive. Graham was out of the room and Hoopes in the chair when the vote was taken.

The N.E.C. did not take up my draft of a statement on Dictatorship, Violence and Terror, which is unfinished business since last December. Senior, Krueger and myself were selected at the Boston meeting last December to bring in such a draft. I was selected to prepare it. The draft was sent in within a few weeks. Nothing was heard of it until I asked for it at the New York meeting last July. It cannot be acted on now until next January, when the N.E.C. again meets, and that will be over a year since the committee was elected to prepare the statement.

The N.E.C. elected a committee of five to draft a new Declaration of Principles for the next convention. The committee consists of Alfred Baker Lewis, Bob Delson, Algonern Lee, Simon Libros and David Felix. I tried to substitute Harry W. Laidler for Felix or Delson, but without success.

These were the major decisions and actions of the Committee that have more or less relation to the conflict within the Socialist Party.

# Character of N. E. C. Actions

THE National Executive Committee at its October session in Chicago pretty completely undid whatever seemed to have been accomplished at New York three months before toward restoring harmony in the party, and this fault was not atoned for by any such constructive acts as the sounding of any such inspiring note as might have been expected at a moment when Organized Labor is awakening, when the general public in this country is keenly interested in social questions, and when European Socialists are looking to us for aid in their heroic struggle.

The N.E.C. gave no thought to the need for campaigners and organizers qualified by working-class background as well as by Socialist education to present our message to the men in mine, mill and factory. Instead, it decided to arrange a national tour for Mrs. Berger, who has unfortunately attached herself to one of the "Communist innocent clubs" and who advocates the "united front."

Taking the international situation into consideration, it promulgated a statement of which the best that can be said is that no two persons agree as to what it really means, but which at any rate mixes up Tolstoyan pacifism, the left-wing Bolshevik notion of "revolution in permanence," and the American isolationism more consistently advocated by Senator Borah. It thus sets itself at variance with the Labor and Socialist International, the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the American Federation of Labor. It then voted to send a copy of this document to the Communist party, the first time in the history of the Socialist Party that the N.E.C. ever made such a fraternal gesture to the Communists.

It suddenly discovered that this was the time for electing members to the executive of the L.S.I. and, while re-electing Norman Thomas, dropped James Oneal, and named Devere Allen in his place, thus monopolizing our representation in the L.S.I. for the point of view held by a slight majority in the N.E.C. and by what may prove to be a minority of our rank and file.

It ordered our New York state organization to reinstate four former members of Local Buffalo, who had months ago been expelled after fair trial for advocating physical force policies inconsistent with those of the party, as defined even by the N.E.C. itself. It asks the full membership of the N.E.C. to approve this action by a mail vote.

It encourages several members of Local New York in defiantly violating a party rule which has been in force for years and has hitherto been obeyed by all, and made itself a party to their breach of discipline by gratefully accepting the promise of a share in the money which they hope to realize.

This is not the way to promote harmony, nor is it the way to build a strong party. The catastrophic loss of membership reported by the National Secretary, most notable in those states where the majority in the N.E.C. has its chief following, is sufficient proof.

## An Explanation

Last week The New Leader and the local organ of a dual party organization carried the statement that Darlington Hoopes was defeated in the election of a member of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International. This was an error; Comrade Hoopes was not a candidate.

The dual party organ also reported that Oneal "walked out" of the N.E.C. meeting when The New Leader was censured. This is false. No such action was taken and when the "militants" had The New Leader before them on Monday Oneal did not attend the session.

## Dinner to Julia Primoff

Mrs. Julia Primoff, candidate for Assembly in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn—the 16th A. D.—and one of the active workers in the women's movement, will be given a testimonial dinner Sunday afternoon, Oct. 27, at the Colonial Mansion, 1933 Bath Ave., Brooklyn. The dinner will begin at 1:30.

Reservations by mail and telephone from Harry Kritzer, 175 East Broadway, New York City.

## Solomon and Fish in Symposium

Charles Solomon and Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr., will engage in a symposium discussion on "The Constitution—Is It Adequate?" Monday evening, Nov. 4, at the American People's School, 67 Stevenson Place, Bronx, under the auspices of the Adult Education Division of the Board of Education.

## Falcon Guides' Course

The first session of the Falcon Guides' Training Course, which started Oct. 10 at the Rand School, was attended by thirty guides and prospective guides. However, there is still need of a great many more trained leaders of the Red Falcons of America if that organization is to be an important workers' children's movement.

Comrades are urged to take an active interest in this work. To prepare for this, they should attend the Guides' Course every Thursday at 8:30 p. m. at the Rand School.

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# BIG VOTE POLLED IN LYNN PRIMARY

LYNN, Mass. — The Socialist Party, contesting the "non-partisan" primaries here with a full slate of candidates, polled a remarkably large vote, and in one case came within 250 votes of nomination for the final ballot.

It was the first time the Socialists had contested a local election since the war, and the results were highly gratifying.

On a platform whose first plank was a demand for a municipally-owned shoe shop, conducted on closed union shop lines, and including other demands along municipal ownership lines, the workers of this boot and shoe town were appealed to for votes for the Socialist ticket consisting largely of trade unionists.

In a total of 26,000 votes, the

Socialists polled the following: for school commissioner, John F. Dwyer, 3,695, or 250 short of the nomination; and for councilmen 792, 356, 114, 54 and 53.

As a result of the fine showing the membership of the Local has been more than doubled and the party has become a permanent and important factor in the political life of the community.

## Y.C.L.A. to Honor Debs

The Young Circle League of Greater New York will hold a Debs memorial meeting Sunday evening, Oct. 27, in the Young Circle League Auditorium, 22 East 15th St., Manhattan. James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will be the principal speaker and the Debs film will also be shown.

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**BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS.**  
TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3657.  
3658. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union. Z. L. Friedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y/Treas.

**CAP MAKERS' UNION, Local No. 1.**  
Tel. ORchard 4-9800. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Ave., New York City.

**CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS' & HELPERS' UNION, Local 192, I.L.G.W.U.**  
Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 32nd St., Chickering 4-3681—Saul Metz, Manager.

**CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 23.** International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

**CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.**  
New York Local, 31 West 15th St., New York City. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2.** International Fur Workers' Union. Office and headquarters, 909 Willetsburg Ave., Brooklyn; STAGG 2-9798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobias; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mandel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

**JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION.**—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. LUGer 5-5190. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 4th St., New York, Gen. Mgr.: Philip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

**LADIES' GARMET CUTTERS' UNION.**  
LADIES' GARMET CUTTERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone, CHLSEA 3-2143. David Dubinsky, President.

**THE ALMAGAMATED CLOTHES' UNION.**  
Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U. Office, 60 West 35th St.; Phone, WJe 7-5021. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y: Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION.**  
Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St. phone, WISconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening. 4 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheimer; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Rodos.

**NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION.** UNITED LOCAL NO. 1, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone, ALgonquin 4-7052. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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# PARTY NOTES

## New York State

**Westchester Campaign**  
Port Chester. The last meeting of the Westchester County Committee was held at the Finnish Branch here here, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle, White Plains and Yonkers reported lively municipal campaigns. Activities in the Finnish branch include a bazaar which began on the 21st and will continue to November 2nd, and a series of five lectures arranged for the branch youth club.

## Good Progress in Port Jervis

Port Jervis.—Walter H. Bloomer of Sparrowbush is serving temporarily as financial secretary of the local. The local appears to be in the best condition that it has been for several years.

## Schenectady Campaign

Schenectady.—Symposiums arranged by the Taxpayers' Association are giving Socialist candidates an opportunity of getting before people who would never come to a Socialist meeting. Chas. W. Noonan represented the party at the Mount Pleasant School meeting last Wednesday, and Herbert M. Merrill, candidate for Mayor, will speak with other majority aspirants next week Tuesday at the Central Park High School. James E. Houlihan is chairman of the campaign committee.

**Candidates' Expenses.**—The amended State Election Law requires candidates to file expenses both before and after elections. A statement should be filed on the 26th. It is the duty, however, of Election Boards, City and Town Clerks to supply candidates with forms for such statements. The Election Law explicitly says that "each such board or clerk before an election shall mail copies to each nominated candidate."

## New York City

**MANHATTAN**  
Chelsea.—Comrade Goldberg elected organizer. Campaign dinner in Tom's Garden, 1235 Broadway, Monday, Oct. 28, at 7:30 p. m.  
4th A.D.—Annual forum started with a bang with Karl as first speaker. Henry Fruchter will speak Sunday, Oct. 27, on "Is Capitalism Doomed?" Forum is at headquarters, 204 East Broadway. Open air meetings throughout the district all week.  
Yorkville.—Branch will entertain at a Halloween and Waffle Festival Wednesday eve., Oct. 29, at 211 E. 84th St.

## Bronx

Lower 6th A.D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1935 E. 172nd St.

**KINGS**  
16th A.D.—Special meeting Tuesday, Oct. 29, 6618 Bay Parkway, for members and all who wish to serve as watchers report to headquarters.

**Brighton Beach.**—Regular meeting Monday, Oct. 28, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave. Midwood.—Bridge party Friday, Oct. 25, at Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Ave. P, at 5:30. Proceeds for the United Socialist Drive.  
Business meeting at same address Monday eve., Oct. 28. Street meetings Thursday and Friday nights at Kings Highway and E. 15th or 17th Sts.  
Kingsway Mansion leased for November 1 and 5 (Election Eve and Day) and request all comrades to appear for instructions to watchers Monday, Nov. 1.

## Young Circle League

To open its first annual Forum Sunday evening, Nov. 1, the Young Circle League has arranged a symposium on "Should American Labor Organize Its Own Political Party?" The speakers will be Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president of the United Textile Workers of America and leader of the Labor Party movement in the American Federation of Labor; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and J. Baskin, general secretary of the Workmen's Circle. In addition, George Neany, president of the New York Federation of Labor, and Heywood Brown, president of the American Newspaper Guild, have been invited.

## Goldman on A. F. of L. Convention

A report on the new developments in the American labor movement, as exemplified by the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor, will be given by Murray Goldman, assistant national director of the Young Circle League, who attended the Convention on behalf of the Trade Union Committee of the American Youth Congress. The meeting is to be held under the auspices of the Y.C.L.A. Discussion Group and will take place Sunday afternoon at the League Center, 22 East 15th Street, New York City.

# Building Trades Challenge PWA

(Continued from Page One)  
vailing wage rate demands without specific instructions from Washington.

"I can't leave Works Progress Administration projects unprotected throughout the state," Mr. Herzog said. "Neither can I leave thousands of men out of work who wish to go to work to obtain the necessary income to support their families."

Sobered by the fine solidarity and determination of the building trades workers, Lester W. Herzog, Works Administrator, surrendered on Monday and did what on Sunday he had said he could not do. He ordered a 10% wage increase for WPA workers on up-state projects and a reduction of the total hours of labor per month to 128. Herzog yielded big concessions and conceded 120 hours per month to Westchester, Nassau and Suffolk Counties, but said that 128 hours would be the rate up-state.

The representatives of the state labor conference turned down the offer by Herzog to increase the wage and decrease the working hours and insist on their original demands for the prevailing wage rate, that is, the union wage scales.

On Wednesday Acting WPA Administrator Williams in Washington approved the course of Herzog.

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A Socialist Party Publication Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose.

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1935

## THE FEUDAL HEARST

**W**ILLIE WALLIE HEARST cannot afford to pay California taxes imposed by the revolutionary government headed by Frank Merriam and he intends to come to New York. His California ranch is one of the most grandiose baronial estates in the world. It has a thirty-mile front on the Pacific which, with its towns and villages, is valued at tens of millions—and he cannot afford to pay taxes on it. Many millions of dollars pour into his coffers each year from the opium he peddles through his papers. Other millions come from his magazines, movie enterprises, cattle ranches, gold mines and financial investments.

So he is planning an escape from a state that is ruled by his own class, a class that is as reactionary as he is himself. He wants the mightiest navy in the world and a war with Japan in which he is willing to contribute the bones of a few millions of workingmen, but not his own.

In short, Hearst is a throwback to the feudal era, when the wealthy lord filched surplus values from serfs and laborers, ruled the governments, translated his class opinions into law, and mobilized serf and laborer in wars for himself and his class. He is the most dangerous man in this country because his hired intellectual police reach tens of millions of people with his movies and publications.

A civilization ruled by working people would have no place for the Hearsts. Perhaps a few of them would be pickled in jars and be exhibited in museums so that the inhabitants of a free world would know what was tolerated in the closing period of capitalist civilization.

## THE A. F. of L. CONVENTION

**C**ONSIDERED as a whole, the convention of the American Federation of Labor was the most interesting and the most progressive in the past five years. The debates were more spirited and earnest than in any other convention since the end of the World War, while a fatal division in the building trades was, fortunately, avoided. The debate on industrial unionism revealed a ferment of ideas that was surprising, while the vote of 10,924 for it and 18,025 against was equally surprising. It shows a big shift of opinion in favor of a change in the structure of organizations of new unions that are being organized.

One thing that should not be overlooked is that the old quarrel between the unions of a generation ago and the Socialists has been forgotten. Tens of thousands of members who have joined the unions in the past ten and fifteen years also know nothing of it, and cooperation between the organized workers and the party for causes in which both are interested have been effected in many cities.

Not so with the Communists, whose record of rule and ruin brought them fierce resentment. This repeats the history of the labor movement in all other countries. Like Typhoid Mary, they carry the contagion of disease wherever they appear and the labor movement has established a quarantine against it. Socialists have done likewise and for the same reason. Thus the political and economic sections of the labor movement have realized the united front by rejecting the bogus front offered by Stalin's boys in the United States.

## A FOOTNOTE ON POLITICS

**R**EPORTS from the hinterland bring news that a woman in Canada has been steadily and uninterruptedly yawning for six weeks, and that another woman in Illinois has just finished her longest spell of yawning after eleven days and nights.

Unconfirmed explanations are that the two ladies have been hearing speeches by statesmen on the economic situation, and patriotic addresses against the "reds."

In the same paper we read that a Milwaukee man, appropriately named Grabowski, told a "tall" story and laughed so heartily at his own "humor" that he died. It is believed that he was a politician explaining what the old parties have done for the masses.

## A Dialectic Miracle

**T**HE miracles of dialectic thinking were on view once more at a swank party in the Soviet General Consulate in New York recently.

The occasion was the arrival of two brilliant young Soviet humorists, Ilf and Petrov, whose novel "The Little Golden Calf" is available in the English translation by Charles Malamuth, published by Farrar & Rinehart. The usual miscellany of penthouse Bolsheviks, liberals and frank reactionaries one finds at such parties were on hand.

Someone was in conversation with a Soviet official. "How is it that Malamuth, their translator, is not here?" he asked innocently.

"Huh! Because we didn't invite him."

"Why?" the innocent liberal asked.

"Because we suspect him of being a Trotskyist!"

Almost within earshot of this conversation, however, was a gentleman who had qualified as a guest from the Consulate's point of view. He was certainly not a Trotskyist. Not even a Lovestonite.

It was Arthur Brisbane, the oracle of Mr. Hearst's household!

## In Memoriam --- Eugene Victor Debs

Born November 5, 1855 - - - - - Died October 20, 1926

By John M. Work

**I**N June, 1905, two months after I had become the proud father of the first edition of a book entitled "What's So and What Isn't," I made a street speech in Terre Haute, Indiana, the life-long home town of Eugene V. Debs. Although I understood that he was away on a speaking tour, I walked around to his house in the afternoon and rang the doorbell. A window went up and a feminine voice called, "Who's there?"

I went to the south end of the big porch and looked up. At the window was Mrs. Debs. We talked a few minutes, whereupon I told her I was going to leave a book in the mail box for Gene, and excused myself.

When I got home from that tour a week or two later a letter from Gene Debs was awaiting me. In it he said he had read every word of the book, and he praised it to the skies.

It was a habit of authors to publish his commendations of their writings in order to stimulate a demand for them. I resolved that I would not follow that custom, for two reasons: First, because I did not want to take advantage of his kindness of heart; second, because I knew by observation that on account of his sympathy with budding authors almost any pamphlet could elicit praise from him as an epoch-making work.

### His Warm Heart

That was not the only occasion when I had personal reason to testify to his kindness. In 1912, when I was national executive secretary of the Socialist Party, and he was candidate for President, he attended a meeting of the national executive committee at Chicago headquarters to help plan the campaign. He and two others were delegated to go to West Virginia to assist in a coal strike which was the main labor sensation at the time. While in the midst of his arduous duties there he took time to write me a solicitous letter telling me that I was overworked and urging me to take a vacation.

A year later, when I was thrown out on my neck, and was, in the eyes of many, repudiated and disgraced, he again went out of his way to write to me and express his complete confidence in me. He did this without investigation, just taking it for granted that all the evil things said about me were false. That is real friendship.

I am only one of many who can give personal testimonials like these. It was the regular thing for him to go out of his way to do a kindness to someone.

### A Great Fighter

In battle he was a fierce fighter and he could skin opponents alive, with righteous indignation, when he chose to do so, but normally he was gentle and compassionate—kindness personified. Thoughtless of self, he was ever thoughtful of others. He had the modesty, the self-effacing quality, that goes with real greatness.

These are the reasons for the deep love which so many had for him. Although I often disagreed with what he said and wrote, I re-



member him with warm affection, whereas there were some others whom I remember only with admiration for their ability and achievements.

Either his modesty or his plain common sense kept Debs away from most of the conventions and off the regular committees of the Party. He did not attend the union



Debs' hand

convention at Indianapolis in 1901, at which the Socialist Party was born.

He was present at the 1904 convention, served on the committee on platform, took practically no part in the discussions on the floor, absented himself while the nominations were being made, and then was brought back to make a speech of acceptance. After that, with one exception, he did not attend another convention for twenty years—not until after he was released from Atlanta prison. Neither did he ever serve on the national executive committee of the Party until after he left Atlanta.

In keeping away from conventions and off the regular committees during those twenty years his judgment was good. It kept him from becoming entangled in Party controversies and left him free for the work of agitation and education for which he was supremely fitted.

### The Reconstruction Conference

The one exception above mentioned, was the reconstruction conference of national executive committee, state secretaries and other party officials in August, 1918, in anticipation that the war would come to a close sooner or later. It was after he had been indicted for making the Canton speech but before the trial.

Not technically a delegate, his counsel was sought, but again he took very little part in the proceedings. When called upon he went up front and made a short and pointed anti-war and pro-peace talk, at the close of which the meeting involuntarily recessed so that everyone could shake hands with him. A woman visitor who had not previously attended any such meetings looked on in wonderment. Introduced to him, she said, "They all seem to love you, Mr. Debs." He replied: "They love me because they know I love them." It was the same in prison. The whole prison population loved him because they knew he loved them, and when he left they raised a roar that shook the great building to its foundations.

Slightly before he went to prison, in 1919, the Communists began their hellish work of attempting to wreck all of the political and union organizations of the workers throughout the world. With the aid of stool pigeons and stuffed referendum ballots they split the Socialist Party in this country.

### Rebuilding the Party

As soon as Debs emerged from prison and rebuilt his health a little, he set about, with characteristic energy, the work of rebuilding the Party. Thus his last years were spent in undoing the damage done by the crazy Communists. The time had passed when organizational activity on his part would create jealousy or be detrimental in any way. He served on the national executive committee, became national chairman of the Party, raised funds, made speeches, was an active delegate to conventions, and took the initiative in starting The American Appeal, a weekly educational propaganda organ published by the Party, later merged with The New Leader and of which The New Leader is lineal and direct successor.

He was very deeply interested in The American Appeal. It was his child and he loved it. He gave much time, thought and energy to it, and, a few weeks before his death, he gave five hundred dollars to it. My belief is that he would have preferred to have The American Appeal as his permanent memorial. As his memorial it could have been developed into a paper with a great national and to some extent an international circulation.

### His Memorial

However, the main memorial, of anyone, is the impress he makes upon the world, his influence upon the future of the human race. Eugene V. Debs wielded a powerful and lasting influence in behalf of human brotherhood. He has joined "the choir invisible."

*Of those immortal dead who live again  
In minds made better by their presence; live  
In pulses stirred to generosity,  
In deeds of daring, rectitude, in scorn  
For miserable aims that end in self,  
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,  
And with their mild persistence urge men's search  
To vaster issues.*

## Do the Lawmakers Purposely Play Into the Court's Hands?

By Algernon Lee

**A**GAIN the judiciary has blocked the efforts of our elected law makers to develop new public policies to meet new social needs. This time it is not the Supreme Court of the United States that has so acted, but the New York State Court of Appeals.



It is not the whole country that is directly affected this time, but only one city, with a paltry seven millions of inhabitants. By this court's decision, the people of New York City are forbidden to vote on the question of establishing a municipal electric plant. Consolidated Gas, Edison Electric, New York Telephone, and other such corporations are loud in their praise of the learned judges at Albany. Their enthusiasm is not shared by the masses. How long our traditional reverence for the courts will stand the strain of decisions that protect supercapitalists and hog-tie the legislative bodies Heaven only knows.

It is argued that the fault lies, not with the Court of Appeals, but with Governor Lehman and the state legislature and the municipal assembly for having framed the enabling act and local law in such a way as to enable the court to decide as it did—just as, in the case of NIRA, it is alleged that President Roosevelt and his thoroughly domesticated 1933 congress were to blame for not foreseeing the technical grounds upon which that act could be declared unconstitutional. Let it be remembered that there were no Socialists in congress or state legislature or municipal assembly. If there had been, the "jokers" would have been exposed before it was too late.

It would not be a bad idea for the millions who believe in public ownership and in labor and social legislation to vote for the candidates of a party which earnestly advocates those things, instead of electing men who approve of capitalism, who only in an emergency now and then may enact a progressive measure, and when they do enact one are either so careless or so cunning as to include in it provisions which put it at the mercy of the courts.

The victory of the Danish Social Democrats in last Tuesday's general election is not spectacular, but it is substantial. Our gain of six seats leaves us seven short of an absolute majority. The elements which have voted with us in the past, and will presumably do so in the future, have come back at least as strong as they were. The government headed by Thorvald Stauning, which is pledged to democratic procedure and has shown that it

upon articles "considered implements of war," most authorities believe that House and Senate would not object if the President were to proclaim that oil and other "articles" vital to military operations are battle implements.

The Department of Justice gives a significant glance towards its holster as a warning to traders who make light of the Presidential proclamation forbidding the export of war implements to belligerent nations. It takes the form of prosecutions being prepared against certain airplane and firearms firms which are alleged to have shipped war equipment to Bolivia and Paraguay in violation of the embargo placed on such shipments by Congress on May 28, 1934. Maximum penalty is a fine of \$1,000 and two years' imprisonment. For violation of the recent Neutrality Proclamation the penalty is much more severe—a fine of \$10,000 and five years in prison.

### Ghost of the NRA Rises

**F**IRST responses are in from business and labor leaders invited by Industrial Cooperationist Berry to meet and discuss future plans for business control under codes.

Reports Major Berry: "They indicate support of the basic principles of the NRA—regulation of competition and minimum labor standards."

By the National Manufacturers Association a direct warning is being out for business men against being lured into the Government's parlor. Two groups are said to be likely to welcome the NRA appeal, namely:

1—Those believing anti-trust laws place competitive business under the law of the jungle with Federal regulation as the only escape.

2—Those who saw a distinct advantage in Government control of hours and wages, under the NRA codes.

Three changes the abolition of the NRA codes has left in its wake, as seen from different viewpoints:

1—From that of the American Federation of Labor—Increase of profits is outrunning increase of wage payments, thereby endangering a permanent recovery, because a mass purchasing power is not being built up to absorb output of

knows how to serve the workers' interests without throwing society into chaos; can now continue its work with increased confidence and vigor. The combined strength of two physical force parties, the Communists and the Nazis, amounts to only two per cent of the whole voting population, which is not enough to worry about.

The Danish election is one more evidence that the forces of democratic labor Socialism throughout Europe are rallying and regaining ground after the disastrous checks which they suffered in the early 'thirties. As their new offensive develops, American Labor is getting ready to support them. Let American Socialists not remain in "splendid isolation."

The Baldwin government in England has dissolved Parliament and called elections for November 14. This seems to be good Tory strategy. The issue dominant in the voters' minds will be that of approving or condemning the line taken by the government in dealing with the current war dangers. The Labor party, having not only approved, but positively urged the invocation of sanctions against Fascist Italy, will probably be at a certain practical disadvantage in the election campaign. We cannot expect that its numerical strength at the polls and in parliament will be so greatly increased as it would otherwise have been. Whatever gains it does make will be all the more significant, and will add to its moral influence in the coming years.

It is of course possible that any day the government may take a step which will lessen the prestige it has won by its recent leadership in the League of Nations. There are signs that Mussolini would now, having got some thousands of Ethiopians and of Italians slaughtered for his glory, be glad to make peace on quite moderate terms and share the loot with either the British or the French imperialists or both. If Mr. Baldwin's government joins in such a sordid bargain, it remains to be seen how British opinion will react. The pacifists may be ready to approve anything that is called peace, but Labor will regard this kind of a settlement as not only a betrayal of Ethiopia, but also a betrayal of democracy in Europe.

Meanwhile, the League of Nations has at least proved its potential usefulness in the most threatening emergency that has arisen since it was formed. Its actual usefulness would be vastly greater if our country were a member. To be sure, American capitalists are forbidden to ship guns and ammunition to Italy, but they are shipping oil, cotton, copper, and other things which Mussolini cannot get elsewhere. Our failure to join the League increases the danger of a great war into which we may be drawn.

expanding facilities for manufacture.

2—From Assistant Secretary of Labor, McGrady—Strikes shift in objective from attempts to increase pay and shorten hours to a defense against reduced wages and longer hours.

3—From the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice—An increase in prosecutions for violation of anti-trust laws, including action against a number of trade associations. Latest to be prosecuted is the California Packing Corporation, world's largest packer and distributor of dried fruits and vegetables.

### Political Side of the Roosevelt Trip

**N**OW that the master of the New Deal has completed his first pre-election swing around the circle, political diagnosticians are assessing its probable results. There seems fair agreement that Mr. Roosevelt found his fences in the West, especially in farm regions, in good shape. Cash bounties and higher prices for produce have distributed prosperity over wide areas of the open spaces, and voters are both affluent and grateful.

A different picture is seen in the industrial sections. Wages of workers were raised a little but are being more than eaten up by rise in prices. There are still eleven million unemployed and there seems to be no prospect of ever employing them.

Another comforting conclusion to which the Rooseveltians have come is that the third party menace is as good as dead. With neither the LaFollette Progressives nor any combination representing Long-Coughlin-Townsend-Sinclair adherents showing any sign of taking the national field, the Democrats now look for an old-fashioned two-party knock-down and drag-out with the Republicans. The Socialist Party is destined to play the role of the "third party" in the next Presidential campaign. Are the Socialists ready to take full advantage of their strategic political position?

I hate to finish a sentence with a question mark, but—are the Socialists ready for the major political battle with the enemy, or are they still busy fighting each other?

## Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

**W**HEN the cat's away, the mice will play. The real "breathing spell" that President Roosevelt gave was to the White House staff, the White House reporters and to the Washington newspaper correspondents in general. But seldom has a President faced more serious problems on his return from a short vacation than does President Roosevelt on his return to Washington this week.

Having consistently fixed November 1 as the date by which 3,500,000 workers would be re-employed it must be a grievous disappointment to Mr. Roosevelt to realize that the actual total, at the end of last week, was more than 2,000,000 short of the goal. Perhaps while Works Progress Admin-

istrator Hopkins and Secretary Ickes were sunning themselves under Pacific skies they and the President evolved some magical plan for hitting up the pace. It comes as a shock to the country to discover that the jobless army has not been curtailed at a more rapid rate since Congress voted \$4,800,000,000 for work relief last Spring. Unless methods are devised for providing jobs on a scale hitherto not faintly approached it will be nearer January 1 than November 1 before the bulk of the projected 3,500,000 jobs is filled.

New York City is the banner W.P.A. community, with 200,610 at work. This is more than are similarly employed in any one of the States, the second largest number being 61,991 in Indiana. The entire country only 184,000 names were added to the payrolls of the Works Progress Administration since October 3, but out of these 120,000 were added in the last week.

### Trouble on the Eastern Front

**T**HE President's next big job will probably be the task of keeping the United States "untangled and free" from the actual conflict in Africa and the more dangerous threatened conflict in Europe.

About the first cold war dashed on administration hopes that American business would refrain from trading with belligerents is the announcement of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, through President Walter C. Teagle, that it sees no reason, under existing conditions, to stop sales to Mussolini. A subsidiary of the Standard in Italy has been marketing the company's products for more than 40 years. The oil industry's position apparently is that so long as there is no definite objection on the part of the United States Government it should continue to trade with Italy in the regular way. Although the neutrality resolution of Congress places a mandatory embargo only